

13


Second Series

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

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Second Series

13

A large, stylized white signature of Jawaharlal Nehru, consisting of a large 'J' and 'N' with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.A small, stylized white signature of Jawaharlal Nehru, similar in style to the larger one, located in the bottom left corner.

“So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the ‘third world’ as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. . . .the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.”

Indira Gandhi

**Selected
works of
Jawaharlal
Nehru**



FAREWELL TO THE UNITED STATES, 7 NOVEMBER 1949

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

Second Series

Volume Thirteen

Second Series

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S. Gopal

FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

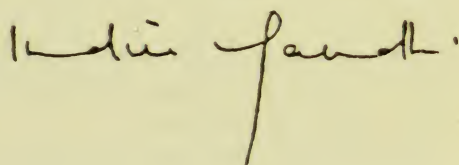
That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interest in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively

and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Indira Gandhi". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Indira" and the last name "Gandhi" clearly distinguishable.

New Delhi
18 January 1972

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

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During the twelve weeks from 16 August to 14 November 1949 covered in this volume, Jawaharlal Nehru, while aware of the dark patches on both the Indian and the world scenes, was confident that it was the bright spots of light which counted. As part of the effort to add to the light, he was keen that the country should take seriously to planning. Food was still a basic problem, and the Prime Minister wished India to become self-sufficient in this respect and stop the import of foodgrains. Indeed, he wanted the target date to be brought forward by a year. The continuous wave of migrations from East Bengal not only caused concern in itself; it worried Nehru that it promoted the growth of narrow-mindedness and a mood of seeking retaliation. For the strengthening of national unity was still a prime consideration; and it was with this in mind that Nehru secured the retention of English as a link language until at least 1965.

On Kashmir, pressure by Britain and the United States to accept the vague proposal for arbitration put forward by the United Nations Commission was resisted. But the attitude of these powers on Kashmir did not cloud the almost emotional welcome given by the American peoples when Nehru visited the United States and Canada. This was in a sense the high watermark of Nehru's activities during these weeks.

We are grateful to the Nehru Memorial Library for access to the papers of Jawaharlal Nehru and other relevant collections. Shrimati Indira Gandhi had made available to us a large number of documents in her possession and these papers have been referred to in the notes as the J.N. Collection. The President's Secretariat, the Prime Minister's Office, the Ministries of External Affairs, Law, Food and Agriculture and Works, Mines and Power, the National Archives of India and the Press Information Bureau have also authorized the reproduction of material in their possession. Much of the material of the Ministry of External Affairs is still classified and some portions have to be deleted. A few items from the volumes of *Sardar Patel's Correspondence*, Volume Six of the *Foreign Relations of the United States* and from the U.S. National Archives, the Harry S. Truman Library and the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library in the United States have also been included.

The biographical footnotes covered in the earlier volumes of the *Selected Works* have been mentioned in the index with the volume number.

Shri S.C. Mathur who resigned recently after being associated with the *Selected Works* project for eighteen years was involved along with two other colleagues in the preparation of this volume for the press.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.I.C.C.	All India Congress Committee
A.I.R.	All India Radio
C.A.	Constituent Assembly
C.B.C.	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
C.B.S.	Columbia Broadcasting System
C.P.	Central Provinces
C.P.I.	Communist Party of India
I.O.L.R.	India Office Library Records
M.E.A.	Ministry of External Affairs
M.L.A.	Member of Legislative Assembly
M.W.M.P.	Ministry of Works, Mines and Power
N.A.I.	National Archives of India
N.M.M.L.	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
P.E.P.S.U.	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
P.I.B.	Press Information Bureau
P.M.	Prime Minister
P.M.S.	Prime Minister's Secretariat
R.S.S.	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
U.K.	United Kingdom
U.N.C.I.P.	United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan
U.N.O.	United Nations Organisation
U.P.	United Provinces
U.S.A.	United States of America
U.S.S.R.	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

GENERAL PERSPECTIVES

1. Security, Culture and Development¹

Sisters and Brothers,

You know many things have happened in India in the last two years. A little more than two years ago, India was partitioned into two and its terrible aftermath shook all of us. We made many mistakes. That is a long story and I will not go into it just now. I want to remind you what our goal had been in the last twenty, twenty-five, thirty years ever since Mahatma Gandhi joined Indian politics. He shook India to her foundations and drew India's millions to him and taught them to march forward together. When I recall that period, it seems like another age altogether—it seems so distant because so many things have happened since then. But sometimes it seems also to be very close, almost as if it happened yesterday. But you and I have to think about the direction in which we have to take our country now. Enormous problems confront us, especially the economic problems. In his speech Tandonji² referred to problems concerning our country's defence, her culture, and various new problems which have arisen. Much can be said about all of them but the ultimate question is in which direction do the people of India wish to go. What are their aims and what do they wish to make of this country? We spoke at length about freedom and *Swarajya* in the past. It meant, first, obviously, the end of British rule. But this word had other deeper meanings as well. Mahatma Gandhi had said a great deal about what he meant by *Swarajya*. We too have repeatedly spoken about it, and so has the Congress. Now that we have reached the first goal, the question arises as to how far we are moving in the right direction, towards the other goals, and how far we have strayed away from them into wrong paths. So much has happened in this period which could lead us astray or make us forget what we have achieved; or we may generate new urges in our hearts.

The Congress has been in power for the last two years at the Centre as well as in all the provinces and has achieved a great deal in some areas; but in others we have failed to do much. Nowadays it has become almost a profession of some people in the country to criticize the Congress governments and the Congress organization and to find fault with them. Very few people or organizations have helpful suggestions or views about what ought to be done. They find it simpler to blame the Congress and the Government for all the ills and shortcomings of the country. Well, I am not afraid of it, and it is better if some people point

1. Address at a public meeting in Kanpur, 28 August 1949. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L. (Original in Hindi).
2. Purushottamdas Tandon was President of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee at this time.

out our weaknesses and shortcomings. Also it is our habit to proclaim loudly, often quite unnecessarily, our weaknesses and faults. It is not a bad habit because there is danger when people or an individual or a government of a nation fail to understand their own faults and think that what they are doing is the best. That is a dangerous thing which can gradually lead to a downfall. I am therefore not worried about our examining our weaknesses and faults. At the same time, however, we have to remember, first, that we should look at the picture in its entirety. If you are looking at the working of the Congress government, you should also consider as to what has been achieved by them in the past two years. I agree that there is a great deal that remains undone, but also look at what they have done. If you look at the difficulties and problems of our country, then take a look at other countries also where there are governments as in India, and see what their condition is, only then can you draw a proper picture. I am prepared to give you my views in clear terms. I think that my views are honest but it is obvious that an individual who is himself associated with the work cannot look at the situation objectively. In my opinion, the Congress government, in the last two and a half years, has often worked miracles and, I can say with confidence, leave alone India, very few Governments in the world could have faced and withstood such problems and difficulties as we had to and remained stable.

There are many other factors, big and small, which have increased the stature of the Congress. On the other hand, there is no doubt that we have not been able to tackle many fundamental issues. We made many big mistakes, the nation made mistakes, our attention wandered and we have often shown weakness. You can make a list of them and weigh the good against the bad and only then you will be able to understand the whole position. Well, whatever we have done or not done, or whatever mistakes we have made, I can say one thing quite confidently that we had put our entire strength and wisdom in handling the tasks that we felt were right and made every effort to fulfil our objectives. It is true that we have not succeeded in removing all the ills that beset this country and in many cases, things have become worse, for example, the economic condition. It is true that if some other methods had been adopted, those may have benefited us more. I am not sure, however, because it is no small matter to try to develop a large country like ours, with a population of 350 millions, particularly when the country was passing through a very turbulent period and was divided into two and hundreds and thousands of people had been uprooted and rendered homeless. We were faced with the burden of resettling them. That was no small matter.

Then take the world situation today. Almost all the countries in the world, in Asia and in Europe, are facing disruption. There is talk of war and the economic situation is bad. So these problems will after all affect our country too.

Anyhow, you can draw any conclusions you like. But what you and I have to face are today's problems, especially the economic problems. Shri Tandon mentioned two more important questions. One was the defence of India and the

other, our cultural tradition. It is obvious that both are important questions. But in my opinion, there is no need for anyone to get unduly perturbed over either of these questions because as far as the question of India's defence is concerned though there are many dangers from all sides, I feel there is no danger which we cannot face confidently. So, as far as the defence of India is concerned, I am not worried about any external danger. No nation or government can afford to be careless about such matters. We have to be on constant alert and be prepared, and I feel that those who are in charge of the country's defence are alert and fully prepared. But how can a country be properly defended? It is true that army, air force and navy, are all necessary for defence. Ultimately, however a country's defence depends on two important things. First is the economic condition of the country and her ability to produce the material necessary for her defence, and second is the state of the people's minds and hearts. You must never forget that when thirty years ago we started the struggle for freedom under Gandhiji's leadership, we did not enter into an armed conflict. It was a struggle based on nonviolence and peace. We faced a mighty Empire, a powerful Government, and after many ups and downs, we ultimately achieved victory. People forget this and forget how powerful a country can be if it is united in a common goal of peace.

Last year I visited Paris for a few days where I was invited to address a session of the United Nations.³ Great problems of war and peace confronted the session and people were suspicious and feared that war may break out at any time. I reminded them that though India cannot hope to compete militarily with any of the great powers of the world which are armed to the teeth, even then I have no fear because after all we have faced a great Empire without arms. If we are attacked, then we will certainly defend ourselves because ultimately the real strength of a country lies in the courage of her people, and so long as the people of India remain stout-hearted and brave, there shall be no need for her to panic or fear.

Well, that is what I told them then and perhaps it was a novel idea to them, though not for you and me. I am not worried therefore, about what any other country may do against us. Yes, my worry is, if there is a large-scale war in this world which will be bad for the world and for our country as the whole world will be ruined, hundreds of thousands of people will lose their lives, and then no one knows how many generations it would take for the world to recover. In such a war, even if our country is not directly involved, it will still be powerfully affected by it. It will involve all countries of the world and they will be ruined and become poor because wars impoverish the world. What happens in a war? In a war immediately there is a great flow of money. Many people make money, factory-owners, contractors, workers and even farmers, and the price of everything goes up. All that is artificial and we have to pay the price for it once the war is over. Then

3. Nehru addressed the third session of the U.N. General Assembly at Paris on 3 November 1948. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 8, pp. 290-295.

we begin to realize the evils of war. The present slump in the world economy is the price the world is paying for the last War and nobody knows for how long it will continue paying the price. I feel, therefore, that not only for India but for the whole world, it would be a catastrophe if there is another war because it will destroy half the world. Therefore, it is our country's policy to see that there be no war in the world. We may not be able to stop it because we are not yet powerful, but we can exercise some influence through the position we hold today. Well, I have told you all this about defence.

If I am worried or upset, it is not because of the external threats but by internal enemies, because if we are weak and forget our tasks, it weakens our very foundations and then the biggest armies cannot help us. By weakness, I mean economic weakness. Armies are no doubt necessary to defend a nation but no army can fight unless we produce the arms, ammunition and equipment; and unless there is adequate economic progress in the country which can bear the burden of a war. Therefore, the economic question becomes very important. We cannot increase the strength of our army if we are unable to produce the necessary equipment. It is a sign of weakness to be dependent on other countries for such materials just as it is wrong to depend on others for food and other necessities. That is a sign of weakness and, in fact, it curtails our freedom. We have therefore to prepare ourselves after careful planning.

Shri Tandon spoke about culture. It is obvious that it is very important and necessary. But what does culture mean? If a nation is uprooted from its basic foundations, it becomes weak, and unstable. It is essential, therefore, that our roots should remain firm, especially in a country like India which has very ancient and strong roots. These roots have given us tremendous strength. We have to preserve our roots because if they are uprooted we will lose the meaning of our existence. In fact, no nation can borrow the roots of another country. We should, therefore, preserve our strong cultural roots and gain strength by remembering them. Culture is, however, not the preserve of any one country, but is a part of the whole world. It is an amalgam of things which contributes to a nation's progress as well as to its downfall. Today's culture also consists of what is called the 'machine age'. Hundreds of thousands of different kinds of machines are in operation and it is due to these machines that Europe has made such tremendous progress in the last three or four hundred years that it could enslave Asia and accumulate wealth. If we do not adopt that culture and shy away from her lessons, then we will not be able to preserve our own culture, just as we were unable to preserve it in the past. In today's world, therefore, we have to preserve our cultural traditions not by keeping our doors and windows closed and by isolating ourselves from the rest of the world, but by looking around and learning from everyone and trying to synthesize the best of the world's culture so that our own culture may emerge stronger. Only then can we be powerful and influence world affairs; and our ancient culture may gain new strength. Otherwise, we will isolate ourselves from the rest of

the world and will become backward, as we did in the last three hundred years while the world marched on. We were enslaved by the British for the last 150 years and this harmed our country a great deal. On the other hand, it will be wrong if we do not accept that in these 150 years, we have learnt many new things from Europe and the United States and thus we gradually imbibed a new spirit. What is the kind of world we are living in today? What is your world, your country and your Kanpur city? Think about it, as to which age and culture do your factories belong? Look at the thousands of machines and goods that you use in your daily lives—loudspeakers, electric lights, and other equipment. These are the products of the new world culture. If you do not adopt them, how can you hope to survive? You will become weak otherwise. We talk about military strength. What are the weapons that the armies fight with? They need modern weapons, not ancient, outdated weapons. If you are sick, you go in for modern medicines and treatment in modern hospitals. There has to be therefore a synthesis between our ancient culture and today's modern culture which has contributed to the world's progress. Otherwise, we will become weak.

Take our country, for instance. It is a very big country and if you read its history, you will find two things. One is its unity in diversity among the various regions despite such differences as of climate. If you go to Kashmir, or a little higher to another part of our country—to Ladakh, as I did a few days ago, it is extremely cold. You cannot wear these clothes there. You cannot wear *chappals* there. You have to wear long fur-lined boots and woollen socks. That is the life in the mountains. That too is India with her culture but with a difference. In Kashmir, you see a difference though that is also a mountainous region. If you go to Kanyakumari, near Ceylon, you will find everything very different though that is also part of our country. There is, therefore, a great variety in our country and with it, a tremendous unity, because of the influence of a powerful culture. Both these things are here and both have kept the country alive and if you give up one of them, the country will be weakened. It is obvious that the country will be weakened without unity. At the same time, if you try to destroy the diversity of thousands of years for the sake of unity, it will only have the effect of loosening the bonds of unity. This is why our ancestors had devised ways of maintaining unity within diversity. Mahatma Gandhi's first lesson was that we should walk in step with other people while at the same time following our own particular path. He taught us to march in unity irrespective of whatever state or province or religion we may belong to. Do you remember that lesson or have you forgotten it? I often find that people tend to forget it.

Even within the Congress a few Congressmen talk of specific issues. There are some people who say peculiar things in the name of India's culture which I think does not have any connection with our culture. You may remember that in the name of culture some people wanted to convert this country into a State professing a single religion. In today's world or at any other time, what does that

mean? You think about it because that is totally opposed to what Mahatma Gandhi taught us. It is obvious that the fundamental culture of our country is, you may express it as you like, that of the Hindus and it shall continue forever because it is a very powerful culture, and also because the majority of the population is Hindu. If, however, this implies that those who are not Hindus should be suppressed or thrown out, deprived of their full rights as citizens of this country, it would be a fundamental mistake. The basic principles of ours, which we believed in firmly for so long and on which we based our struggle, will get distorted.

You must think about this because nowadays there are all sorts of organizations raising such issues. On the one hand, you have organizations like the Communists, who are raising issues which are just the opposite. On the other hand, there are organizations like the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. You have, therefore, to understand quite clearly what they propagate. Many of them are young men with whom we have no quarrel and we would like to involve them in the service of the country. So there is no question of quarreling with them. However we must be clear in our minds as to which road the country should follow. What principles must we follow?

Take the Communists, for instance. I have said earlier and will repeat once again that as far as the socialist principles are concerned, I am in agreement with many of them. But it is one thing to agree with principles and quite another to accept the present policy of the Communist Party. I think that theirs is a dangerous policy because it has no relation whatsoever with the love of one's country or the progress of her people. It is concerned only with creating and fomenting trouble in the country in order to weaken it so that it may not be able to play a vital role in world affairs. I can tell you definitely that if they succeed, it will harm the country and, moreover, the greatest harm will be to our workers and farmers. Their condition will deteriorate and with that, the country will also deteriorate. The question is not that of socialist principles but of choosing such methods as violence, murder and arson as means for development; you have to think about this matter carefully. We fought the British without arms, through nonviolence, and won. Now, are we to adopt the method of violence, of the lathi, and the gun, to decide the issues amongst ourselves? It only means that those who do this are convinced that they cannot succeed through democratic methods. Since they know that they cannot convince people to vote for them in an election, they have chosen the methods of violence, threats and intimidation.

You may remember that I visited Calcutta a few days ago.⁴ I was getting daily all sorts of news of riots and fighting from Calcutta. So I went there. Calcutta is a big city. Kanpur is also a big city but Calcutta is five times bigger with a population of fifty to fifty-five lakhs. Now it is not good for daily routine and

4. From 12 to 14 July 1949.

trade in big cities to be disrupted by violence and riots. It was evident that many people were indulging in arson, tram-burning, murder, bomb-throwing on the police and on the people. It was a free-for-all and even the police were unnerved, with the result that they also resorted to firing, in panic, whether it was necessary or not, and at times getting killed. What a situation! I went there and I addressed a very large meeting.⁵ It is estimated that ten lakh persons attended it. The first point I insisted upon at that meeting was that there should be no police interference. I knew that there were people capable of creating a disturbance. In fact, leave aside disturbance, a bomb was thrown and some people were killed. The arrangements there, however, made by the officials and, in particular, by non-officials were so good that although a bomb was thrown in which one policeman was killed and some people were injured, the meeting was not interrupted even for a minute and I was able to address them peacefully for an hour and forty minutes.

All those here who keep getting up now and then should learn a lesson from that. This is not merely a sign of impatience or lack of discipline. This is, I beg of women present here to excuse me, this is a feminine weakness, not becoming in man.

Anyhow, I told the people of Calcutta that if they choose to come out into the streets and fight, they were welcome to do so. I added, however, that I could not tolerate seeing the majority of people standing by and watching while a handful of them, a few hundreds or a thousand at most indulge in loot and arson and bring the work of an entire city of 50 lakhs to a standstill. I said that it was the duty of the people themselves to stop all this rioting, otherwise they would be ruined. The first result of this was that people quickly dealt with all those who tried to disturb the meeting. They were hundreds in number, not one or two. Please remember, I had ordered the police not to interfere and they showed such strict discipline that though a bomb was thrown and one of their brethren was killed, they did not move. The people themselves handed over the trouble-makers to the police.

What I wish to say is that if the Communists want to hold meetings or explain their policies and principles, we are prepared to listen. We may oppose it but we will listen. But what is the point in shouting and committing acts of hooliganism and arson, beating up people, and resorting to frequent meaningless strikes? It is true that workers have a right to strike and that cannot be taken away from them. Please remember also that if the Communist way of strike is followed the workers get a bad reputation and even the strike as a weapon is discredited. We have, therefore, to oppose the Communists when they talk of revolt not because we are fighting them on principles but because their methods are wrong.

There are big countries in the world of which the greatest socialist country is the Soviet Union. We have no quarrel with the Soviet Union and we have recently

5. On 14 July 1949. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol.12, pp. 226-242.

sent a very eminent man, Dr Radhakrishnan, as our Ambassador there. We have no quarrel with them. They are free to do what they like in their own country. In China, as you know, a great revolution has taken place and communism is dominant there. The Chinese too can do what they like in their own country. We have no quarrel with anyone. Everybody can do what they like in their own country. But, at the same time, we cannot tolerate any interference in our internal matters. We do not want to interfere in other country's affairs. We are prepared to live in friendship and amity with everyone, learn whatever we can from them and anyone who wishes to come to us is welcome to trade or otherwise. If they wish to learn, we are willing to teach and if they are willing to teach us something, we will learn. But if they interfere in our affairs, especially if they create a disturbance, then there is no place for them in this country. We will certainly not tolerate it. This is what I wanted to tell you about the Communists.

I referred just now to Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. They were silent for sometime but now their voices can be heard once more.⁶ Well, they have every right to raise their voice or be silent, so long as they do their work peacefully and do not instigate violence and create disturbance. It is necessary, however, that we should consider their openly expressed principles. In certain matters of course nobody knows what their principles are. As far as I know, they have never expressed any views till today on the big economic issues of the world. They do not seem to have any views on any major issues. They only lay special stress on our country and her culture. Our culture is very great and I spoke to you about it just now.

We must consider, however, what they have been saying especially in the last two and a half years. I do not want to say very much against them because many of our youth are in that organization and are doing good work. But after much careful thought I have reached a conclusion that the ideology and methods of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh are basically and fundamentally wrong and harmful, and I cannot perceive of any powerful thinking behind their actions. Yes, they have some slogans which are pleasing to the ear and therefore they become popular. But I think that if their methods are followed, it will be extremely harmful to the nation.

It is said that their organization is apolitical. If that is true and if they follow the right path, I shall not stand in their way. I am, on the other hand, well acquainted with their work in the last two years and if that is not politics, I do not know what else to call it. Indeed, I think it would be correct to call it the politics of treason. Anyhow, I heard a very strange story in this connection after coming to Kanpur.

6. On 25 August 1949, M.S. Golwalkar, chief of the R.S.S., claimed that it had been doing "work silently and solidly, trying to infuse pride in the hearts of people for our culture, which teaches us to do our duty for our Motherland without any idea of reward." He also announced that the new constitution of the R.S.S., "which is a non-political organization" would be released on 5 September 1949.

I had heard about it being recounted earlier too in the public meetings of the R.S.S. They claim that in September 1947, when there were riots in Delhi, it was the R.S.S. which saved the city from a terrible conspiracy. If they had not acted, Delhi might have fallen and Pakistan would have run away with it, and other claims. I believe it is also said that we, that is the Central Government, called in the R.S.S. volunteers to help us out in this task for otherwise we would have been in a terrible fix. So they are supposed to have saved us, and Delhi too. I am surprised that anyone should make such meaningless, stupid statements which are absolutely wrong. I will tell you that the R.S.S. had a major hand in the September disturbances. I will also tell you that if anybody says that Delhi was in any danger from Pakistan, it is absolutely false, without foundation, not because Pakistan is a great believer in doing the right thing—they would have caused a great deal of damage if they could. But the conditions that arose immediately after Partition, with large-scale rioting on both sides of the border made it impossible for Pakistan to create any disturbances on our side. They simply did not have the strength to do it. It was impossible for Pakistan to do any damage because after the Partition, India had acquired the power of a big State. There was no fighting on either side. To say that Delhi was in danger even for a minute from any conspiracy by Pakistan or the Muslims is absolutely false. Delhi was in danger because so many different groups of people had descended on the city, both Hindus and Sikhs from the Punjab, and some of them were from the R.S.S. The responsibility for riots that took place in Delhi in the first two weeks of September therefore lies with those groups that I mentioned.

The Muslims are blamed for the riots, and it is said that it was a conspiracy on their part. There is no doubt that the Muslims of Delhi were belligerent and would have created trouble if they could. But, they were in fact helpless in that situation and after the first 24 hours, no Muslim could be seen on the streets of old and New Delhi. They were in hiding, in fear of their lives. The rioters were other people. So this story is totally false and in fact, the R.S.S. had a big hand in those riots in the Punjab and elsewhere. I hope that they have learnt a lesson and will not repeat it again.

Let them take part in cultural activities. They are welcome to do so. I deplore too their methods which are strongly reminiscent of Hitler's methods. There is no comparison between them and Hitler or Germany but their methods of organization and goals, parade and military discipline, are the same. Their imitation of the pomp and show of Hitler impresses young minds. Anyhow, let them do it. I go, however, by the results and it seems to me that the path they are following is wrong.

Kanpur is a very large city and a centre of trade, industries and production, and in a sense the greatest problem before us is the economic situation and there is no doubt that the government that cannot solve the economic problems cannot continue in power. Others will have to take its place, irrespective of whether they

can do better or not. The economic crisis is very complex and the world is in the grip of it. You must have read about Britain at present. They are in great trouble, though I will tell you, the way the Britishers worked and carried on enormous burdens during the Second World War is indeed praiseworthy. They grumble. If you go to England even today you may not get a square meal even in a rich man's house. They are very careful about food consumption. We have food shortage and yet you see how we waste food and indulge in a great deal of conspicuous consumption. The rich are very vain here and want to show off their wealth. In England, you will not get lavish hospitality even in the wealthiest of homes. They take conscious precautions against shortages by rationing so that everything is available, but in limited quantities. I was there recently for a few days⁷ and spent a Sunday⁸ at Lord Mountbatten's home which is near a village. Then I went to Ireland for a day from London.⁹ So they asked me—not Lord Mountbatten, but his family, his daughter—to bring back some butter from Dublin because there was no shortage of butter in Dublin. So I brought them some butter. I am giving you an example of how the British conduct themselves with military discipline and commodities are available to the rich and the poor in equal quantity. There is no other way. Yes, some people buy in black. By and large, however, they are very strict. They lay great stress on production and have engaged lots of labour in factories because they are now wholly dependent on what they can produce. They do not consume what they produce but export it and import foodgrains from other countries. The hard work that they are putting in is really praiseworthy. In spite of that they are in a grip of acute problems and have to look up to the United States and other countries for help.¹⁰

It is not surprising, therefore, that after the World War and the turmoil of Partition and the influx of fifty, sixty, seventy lakh refugees who had to be looked after, we are facing so many problems. But that is no excuse. We have to consider what we must do. Prices of essential goods like that of food-stuffs have gone up.¹¹ Wages have increased but that does not help very much because everything costs more. Our middle classes are the worst hit. Our artisans and peasants are getting

7. From 20 April to 3 May 1949.

8. On 28 April 1949.

9. On 1 May 1949.

10. On 19 August 1949 it was announced that a joint meeting of foreign ministers of Britain, the United States and Canada would take place at Washington from 7 September to discuss British request for higher dollar aid to cover the dollar shortage. The United States informed Britain on 27 August 1949 that unlike 1948-49 when they covered two-thirds of dollar shortage, their aid would decline in the coming year and warned them against any further nationalization plan or social service expenditure.

11. The general index of wholesale prices, with 1939 as the base, showed a rise from 308.2 in 1947-48 to 389.6 in August 1949. The index of food articles rose from 306.1 in 1947-48 to 410.5 in August 1949.

more for what they produce. Workers get more wages though our big factory-owners made a lot of money during and after the War. The middle class is the only one which has got caught and is suffering badly. Anyhow, there are many reasons for that. There is a great deal of upheaval among all these classes. That is inevitable.

How are we to bring the situation under control? We have to do many things. It is possible that some of our actions have been wrong and we should have tried other alternatives. You may remember that we used to have a system of controls since the War years. Then a year and a half ago, we withdrew them on the advice of senior colleagues. What was the result? We had removed the controls in the hope that the prices of cloth and food-stuffs would come down but on the contrary prices started going up even more. Now let us not go into who is to be blamed, though that is something that should be examined. This inflation helped a handful of people who made crores of rupees at the expense of the common people who had to bear enormous burdens. It is true that our Government was misled and has not been wise. We were forced to reintroduce controls on food, cloth and other things.¹² After I reached Kanpur there was a demand from some people for removal of control on cloth because it is causing a great loss to some of them. I agree that many of our traders may suffer a loss. I would like you to consider that we cannot afford to fall into the same trap once again. We had to face great burdens because of inflation and now we do not want to fall into the vicious circle of the price rise because of any wrong step on our part. Unless we are convinced of the situation being under control, we cannot put hundreds of thousands of people in danger. As far as foodstuffs are concerned, I can tell you definitely that under no circumstances will we remove controls today, tomorrow or the day after. Yes, after a couple of years when we start producing enough and when we are convinced that controls are unnecessary, then perhaps we may remove them. The danger in this is that once the situation gets out of hand, it becomes very difficult to check it. For instance, we are finding it very difficult to bring down the prices which shot up a year and a half ago. It is because of this danger that we could not remove control on cloth either. Yes, we are certainly willing to consider the matter once the position becomes clearer.

You can see how the matter suddenly gets out of hand if something goes wrong. The price of sugar started shooting up suddenly a few days ago.¹³ It is galloping and we are very worried as to what should be done. The question is what to do or what not to do. Initially there was a surplus of sugar and we were exporting it. Then the price started shooting up, and there is a cry that sugar is in short supply.

12. In fact the Union Government had lifted the post-War controls on foodgrains in November 1947 and on cotton textiles in early 1948. However, it was compelled to reimpose controls on textiles and foodgrains after a few months.
13. From June 1949 sugar prices rose by more than twenty per cent in the retail market.

It is worth examining as to who is manipulating all this and as to who stands to gain. Anyhow, because of the new regulations the price of sugar fell somewhat in this State.¹⁴ So you can see that the moment the situation goes out of hand people start taking advantage of that and in the process it is the people who suffer. We cannot therefore take any chances.

The foremost question before us now is how to bring down the prices of commodities, especially of the essential goods like food, cloth and oil. Ultimately, the most essential commodities are foodstuffs of which wheat is the most important. If the price of wheat falls, it will have an effect upon other commodities. The first question, therefore, is how to bring down the price of wheat without affecting the farmer. Our attention is concentrated on that at the moment and if that is solved the situation will be checked.

We have to take steps to bring down the prices and the most important factor, as you have heard, is by increasing food production. We are laying great stress on that and I want you to realize its importance fully because it is the fundamental issue around which our entire economic condition revolves. We may try and be able to bring pressure to bear and reduce prices somewhat. Higher price of wheat caused by its being in short supply means higher price of other food articles. It is therefore important that we should increase the production of wheat and other foodgrains. It is estimated that the shortfall in food production is only about ten per cent. It may not be even ten per cent because many people in our country, especially the farmers in the South and elsewhere too, who could not afford to eat wheat earlier and only took rice, have now started eating wheat. It is a good thing and they are welcome to do so but it has caused shortages of wheat in the country. So we have to produce more, to begin with ten per cent, though we need to produce much more. It should not be difficult to produce ten per cent more. It becomes the first duty, therefore, of each one of us not to waste food. It is a crime, and I think, an ordinance should be issued stating that those who waste food should be punished, and those who indulge in lavish hospitality merely to show off their wealth should also be punished. If you do not waste food and try to conserve it and observe, for example, the guest control order strictly, it will be of a great help.

I would like to mention something in this connection. I often see reports in the newspapers of huge banquets in Delhi, in the Government House or the Prime Minister's residence, and elsewhere too. Let me tell you that at those banquets nothing lavish is provided by way of food. Foreign dignitaries and ambassadors

14. On 21 August 1949, the U.P. Government announced introduction of total rationing of foodgrains and closing of sale in open market. To begin with, it directed the district consumers' cooperative societies in 32 cities and towns to begin selling sugar from their depots to its members and the general public.

are served only light refreshments and beverages like tea and coffee. So please do not think that food is wasted at these gatherings.

You must try to avoid waste and save food, and try to get the neighbours also to desist from wasting food. Secondly, we have to grow more food. Apart from increasing production of wheat and rice, we are encouraging people to eat sweet potatoes, bananas and other such items which are available in plenty. Everyone should avoid eating rice as well as wheat. In fact, you should eat less rice because it is more difficult to import rice though the Government is making all possible efforts.

We have great plans for increasing food production. We have struck water in the desert of Rajasthan¹⁵ and we hope that we will be able to produce a great deal of food there which will be a historic thing because we will be converting a desert into a fertile one. The farmers must of course do their duty and undoubtedly there is a very great burden on them. What is your duty in all this? I told you that you must not waste food, but apart from that, I would like to make some other suggestions. You city folks too should try to grow something. You may ask where can you grow when you have no gardens? Whether you have a garden or not, you must grow something even if you have to do it in a box in your verandah or on your terrace. It may not be much but even if a handful is produced by every individual in Kanpur, it will mean a great deal. Mahatma Gandhi had said that everyone must learn to spin. Similarly every individual must produce something or the other for his own personal consumption. You can easily produce something and if you wish to learn how to do it, there are many people available to tell you.

Today, in a resolution passed by the Provincial Congress Committee it has been proposed that one day in the week should be declared as a non-cereal day. It does not mean that everybody should fast, for you can eat fruits and vegetables. You can imagine how much can be saved if once a week no cereal is consumed. Then we will be able to control the situation. If we succeed in solving the food problem in say two years, though I personally would like to do it in one year, we will double our resources and save a lot of money which can be utilized for other purposes. It will have an immediate impact on the entire economic situation, and the prices will automatically come down and the burden on the people will be lightened. The question of food therefore is absolutely fundamental.

Now I will like to talk to you about some special problems of your province. It is not possible for me to visit your province very often. This is my own province. My entire youth has been spent here, working in its towns and villages, and I feel sad that I am not able to come here frequently. Even so, I keep a watch on the affairs of this province. Sometimes there are good developments and at other times not so good. There have been, however, some revolutionary developments here which make me feel glad. First is the Panchayat Act which was implemented

15. At Samdari near Jodhpur.

recently¹⁶ and this will have an impact on the rural areas. Second is the abolition of Zamindari.¹⁷ These two great events may not have an impact on urban areas but they have certainly had a tremendous impact on eighty per cent of the population of our province. These are great changes and all of you must extend your cooperation wherever possible.

Thirdly, I am very happy with the progress of education here. I am getting more and more convinced that a country is what its people are, and the way they are educated. There is a great deal of talk about our culture and tradition, but unless the minds of the people are properly developed, all our culture, old and new, is of no use. You must have a strong mind. I feel sad to see our youth today. After all, Shri Tandon and myself are birds of passage. Our places will have to be taken by younger people who will have to shoulder the burden of running the country. How are they going to do it? What is their strength? There is a certain strength in their ability to pass resolutions, take out processions, shout slogans, hold large meetings and give long speeches. All this no doubt comes in handy at times. But today what we need is the strength to work, to produce something. Today a good engineer is more valuable than a hundred others who can deliver long speeches. I see that there is very little mental discipline among the youth of today. I am amazed at the sort of demands they make. I think it was in Patna or somewhere that a demand was made that ninety per cent or ninety-five per cent of students should be declared passed in all examinations. They do not realize that an examination is related to what they have learnt but think that it is a licence. Sardar Patel went to Osmania University,¹⁸ a very large university and a good one, at Hyderabad. Often people ask for a day's holiday but the students of the Hyderabad presented a new type of demand that those who had failed be declared to have passed in honour of the visit. Now you may laugh and rightly so. What do we think of education? Does it mean merely passing an examination for you to get a job? That is absolutely wrong.

I have felt for a long time that we must somehow give up this system of examinations completely. Examinations are a terrible thing. But if you think that this implies that your path has been made easier, you are mistaken. Recently we set up a Universities Commission¹⁹ which went into a number of things. The

16. On 15 August 1949, 35,000 Gram Panchayats were inaugurated covering 1,14,000 villages for which elections took place in 1948 under the U.P. Gram Panchayat Act, 1947.

17. The U.P. Zamindari Abolition Bill introduced in the U.P. Assembly in June 1949 was enacted in January 1951.

18. On 26 February 1949.

19. It was appointed by the Government of India on 4 November 1948 under the chairmanship of S. Radhakrishnan to report on Indian university education and suggest improvements and extensions to suit the present and future requirements of the country.

Report has not been published as yet but Dr Radhakrishnan spoke about it in a press conference.²⁰ He did not say that examinations would be given up but he mentioned that examinations will not form the basis for government jobs. That is, government jobs will not be directly related to examinations as they are these days, if Dr Radhakrishnan's views are accepted and in my view, they should be accepted. You go to a university and pass an examination in order to learn something and not that you may get a job later. Yes, it may or may not help you to get a job but that is a different matter. Your education should be directed towards learning something. The fact is that ultimately a nation goes forward only as far as its educated intelligentsia are capable of taking it. Real education does not mean passing examinations, but enlarging the mind.

We are the citizens of a very great country. The future of India does not lie in her size. The more we grow in stature, the brighter India's future will be. If we want our country to be great, we have to be large-hearted and noble-minded. If we are petty in hearts and minds, then our country too cannot grow very much in stature, however much you may talk about her glorious past, or raise slogans. It worries me to see how few people in our universities and elsewhere in the country are really big in mind and heart. Those who are made that way, take advantage of their old culture and traditions and at the same time are aware of the necessity to evolve a new culture. Those who can merely imitate others cannot create anything new.

The time has come when India has to take gigantic strides ahead. It can go very far. Such an opportunity for rapid progress comes in the life of a nation perhaps once in thousand of years. Such an opportunity has now come to India, to go ahead ourselves and help others to do so, peacefully and without bitterness. The country however can progress only when you have the capability of marching ahead. The country cannot progress on its own. I, therefore, pay particular attention towards our youth and when I see that they are thoroughly indisciplined and do not take their studies seriously, I mean real education—not examinations—and waste their time in creating disturbances, I feel very upset. I am aware that this is perhaps a temporary phase which will pass. I am also aware that there is such a tremendous vitality in the whole country today—and sometimes it strays into wrong channels

20. On 25 August 1949, Radhakrishnan explained that the Report had suggested "drastic" measures to remedy the defects in the education system with a view to "making education more Indian in character." Dealing with various aspects of education and structure of university administration the Report disapproved of any attempt at hasty replacement of English at the university stage; called for higher allocation of expenditure on education, provision for scholarships and higher salaries for teachers, expansion of technical education, opening of evening colleges and setting up of new research institutes; and recommended the introduction of objective type tests and other changes in the examination system, and the study of religion not dogmatically.

too—that India cannot but march forward, I have therefore a great confidence in our future.

As you know we have passed through difficult times in the last year or two. The country has suffered many blows. External blows are not serious, they can be borne. The dangerous thing, the really severe blow, is our own weakness, weakness in our nation. The sort of things that we have witnessed in our country in the last two years has shaken all of us. We are full of grief and sadness and the tremendous confidence that we had has been shaken. Ultimately, however, because of our faith in the future of our country we have regained that confidence to some extent. We cannot however solve great problems by sitting idle and indulging in futile criticisms. We have to work, work very hard, and refrain from talking ill of one another. Let the others do what they like, but if we do our work well, then everything will be all right, whether the others do it or not. Ultimately, we must always remember the path we are following.

I will tell you that after deep and careful thought I have come to the conclusion that the only way for our country to progress is by following the methods and fundamental principles laid down by Mahatma Gandhi. That applies not only to India but to the progress of the whole world. If we stray from that path, I am fully convinced that the country will be harmed, it will be ruined, and already we have brought ruin upon ourselves by straying to some extent from that path. I am not referring to the little things that Mahatma Gandhi said and which people often hang on to, forgetting the more important things. The fundamental wisdom that he tried to impart emanated from a great soul and that wisdom people often forget, but it had a tremendous impact on the whole world. Strangely at a time when the influence of Mahatma Gandhi's teachings is increasing in the world, in our own country which is his creation and which he made independent, people are turning away from his ideals and principles and are looking elsewhere. This is really surprising and distressing. I want that you should try to read a little everyday about his teachings, the wisdom that he tried to impart and the principles and values that he reiterated time and again so that people may not forget the fundamental values. He was not in the habit of giving long lectures. He used to repeat the same ideas like a chant and not only did he repeat them but practised them himself. Your welfare and the welfare of India lies in your trying to understand those principles and in following the path shown by him. *Jai Hind*.

2. The Youth and their Problems¹

You have drawn my attention to the frustration among the educated youth and the unemployment problem, alleged unwarranted and provocative handling of student demonstrators by the police and complained of the lack of proper handling of the students. I agree with you that firing should not be resorted to, but what is the Government to do if its authority is continuously challenged through violence? What is a policeman on duty to do if he is attacked? Run away and be a deserter, or oppose? Often he becomes nervous and loses discretion; in sheer self-defence he takes to firing. No doubt, such a state of affairs is very unfortunate. I want to express my anguish at the manner in which trams are burnt, and I must add that such things cannot be stopped by police action alone. It is public apathy which makes problems complicated and difficult.

You are well aware of the changes that have taken place in India in recent years and also how new world problems are creating new situations. To allow frustration to grip young people's minds is bad. Indian youth is not the only sufferer. In Europe also there is this feeling and Indian youth also should work against it.

You have complained about corruption and nepotism. I have been persistently told about this, but usually most of the charges are very vague. Success can be achieved only if specific charges are made and proved. Also there are legal and other difficulties that foil such efforts.

You have drawn my attention to the treatment given to political prisoners in jail. According to my information, living conditions have improved. But what is to be done when prisoners resort to violent attacks on warders? I am convinced that in every case of firing an inquiry should be conducted and the circumstances that led to such results should be tackled.

All this is not of such vital importance as the question: What are our students now doing and what would they like? Because it will be they who will face these problems in the future and so, on their quality depends the future.

1. Remarks at a meeting with the representatives of the college unions, Calcutta, 30 August 1949. From the *National Herald*, 1 September 1949.

3. The Teachings of Mahatma Gandhi¹

India now counts in the counsels of the world because of Mahatma Gandhi, whose message not only helped us to win our political freedom but inspires us and the world to a greater endeavour in the service of humanity. The people of the world have to accept either the atom bomb and its disastrous consequences or devise some other way out, which is no other than the Gandhian way of truth, love and unity.

While I declare my faith in the basic teachings of Gandhiji, I point out at the same time that the country has not kept to the path shown by him. Yet shortly when I visit America,² I wish to tell the people of other countries that Gandhiji's India has a message for you. In four days from now when I leave India, I want to narrate to them India's achievements, resulting from following the footsteps of Gandhiji. Like him, we should believe in action. Silent and social work is what will enable us to create awakening among the masses in the rural areas and finally achieve our freedom. It is the same spirit of service and sacrifice that should guide us and give us strength to overcome our problems and thereby continue to remain free.

Every one in the country, whether cultivator, industrialist or a student will have to act in full cooperation with the Government in solving various problems. The old habit of sitting tight and helplessly looking to the Government for the resolution of our difficulties must be given up. I am convinced of the soundness of the economic conditions of our country. All that we have to do is to exploit its vast hidden resources for the benefit of our toiling masses. There is a habit among a certain section of the people to criticize aimlessly. This is born out of ulterior motives. If everyone of us minds his or her own business and acts more and talks less, the pace of the country's progress would quicken.

We should adopt the best possible method which can help us achieve our objective of economic self-sufficiency and not attach much importance to one or the other 'ism'. In case we fail in our present economic policy, we will switch over to one which is better and more effective.

The key to the solution of our economic difficulties lies in the solution of the food problem. We have to endeavour to produce more and waste less food. I am

1. Address at a public meeting on the birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi, New Delhi 2 October 1949. From *The Hindustan Times* and the *National Herald*, 3 October 1949.
2. Nehru visited the U.S.A. from 11 October to 7 November 1949, and was in Canada in between for a couple of days in the third week of October and again in early November. He left Delhi on 7 October and returned on 14 November 1949.

in favour of advancing the target date of 1952 fixed for self-sufficiency. We are determined to import less food next year and this is sure to save us crores of rupees we so badly need for rebuilding our nation.

As for the criticism levelled against the Government's decision to devalue the rupee in terms of the dollar, all I have to say is that there is no other alternative for India but to fall in line with the twenty-four other countries who have taken a similar decision.³ There is no reason why prices of goods, excepting those from America, should rise. The evil effects of changes in world currencies can be avoided if we ourselves produce the necessities of life, particularly food.

I believe that many businessmen are displeased with the Government because of the appointment of the Income Tax Investigation Commission.⁴ This Commission has done good work during the past two years. The Government does not want to punish the tax evaders severely for minor slips. Nevertheless, the Government is bent upon cleansing the whole atmosphere of the country's trade and want that the businessmen should atone for past errors and cooperate with the Government in future.

As regards the evacuee property, I am aware that the refugees have a grouse against me on the ground that I am interfering with the enforcement of the evacuee property law.⁵ The grouse might be all right as far as it goes, but one thing that has to be borne in mind is that the Government's aim is to enforce a law which is practicable on the one hand, and ensures justice to all on the other. In the last evacuee property ordinance,⁶ due to lack of clarity of language, there was some scope for injustice. Although injustice cannot be banished altogether yet we should aim at avoiding it to the best of our ability.

The position regarding 99 per cent of evacuee property is clear. Its owners have migrated to Pakistan and the properties have been taken over by the Custodian. As regards the remaining one per cent, further action is under consideration of the Government.

The Government has decided to form a committee of non-officials to review the entire work of relief and rehabilitation done by the Government during the past two years and to recommend ways and means to improve and accelerate it. We are determined not to cut a single rupee from the expenditure allotted for the rehabilitation of the refugees.

3. On 19 September 1949, India devalued the rupee against the dollar as a sequel to the devaluation of the pound a day earlier, and the decision of Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Canada and Sri Lanka to follow suit. As a result the value of rupee was 21 U.S. cents compared to 30.225 cents earlier.

4. Constituted on 28 February 1948 with Srinivasa Varadachariar as the chairman, the Commission's main object was to report on the methods of assessment and collection of taxes, and on prevention of tax evasion.

5. See *post*, Section 4.

6. Issued on 26 June 1949.

The refugees must realize that by passing a resolution or holding a meeting or demanding imposition of liberty tax they will in no way help to solve the problem. The Government attaches great importance to the work of looking after the refugee children which should not be doubted. The Hindustani Talimi Sangh is making satisfactory arrangements for the education of those children. The Government wants to convert all the refugee camps into work centres, and build new townships. The speed with which we want to accomplish all this is hampered due to lack of funds. I would urge all refugee leaders to do more constructive work than pass resolutions making undue demands on the Government.

In short, I would again repeat that there are two paths open to India and the world; the path of violence as symbolized by the atom bomb, and the other, the Gandhian path, of unity, love and cooperation. We Indians should give up ideas of domination of one community by another. If not, our country will become weak, and we will all suffer.

THE ECONOMY

I. Planning

1. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi
August 20, 1949

My dear Matthai,²

I have just seen a copy of a note on the discussion by the Economic Committee of the Cabinet with the American Ambassador on Saturday last.³ I was a little surprised to find from this that the American Ambassador had met the Economic Committee for this purpose. It is rather an unusual procedure for a Committee of the Cabinet to meet a foreign Ambassador. It would have been perfectly correct for you or for any other Minister to meet and discuss these matters with him. But for a Committee of the Cabinet to meet him gives it a certain formality and is a precedent which may lead us rather far. Normally, of course, an Ambassador meets only the representatives of the Foreign Office. But in special circumstances, he can certainly meet Ministers dealing with other subjects to discuss matters in their particular domain.

As the Ambassador pointed out in the course of the discussion, the question is more political than economic in the restricted sense of the word. The basic approach thus is governed largely by political reasons and political arguments. As a matter of tactics also, I think, too fervent a request for American help might well have a contrary effect, or might lead the American State Department or American businessmen to take up a stiff attitude. This might well create difficulties, because obviously there are certain limits to what we can agree to and we cannot submit to any conditions which limit our freedom of action in the political or economic field. It has been the tendency in the U.S. to use their money power to gain certain special political and economic advantages. As you know, there is a great deal of resentment in the United Kingdom because of this. In India there has been a good deal of criticism in the press about what is called American imperialism. The Ambassador referred to this. I think this criticism is somewhat exaggerated. But there is a basis for it and we have to be very careful not to do anything which might irritate Indian public opinion too much.

There was nothing in the discussion itself with the Ambassador by the Economic Committee which might create difficulties for us. It is not because of that that I am writing, but rather because of a precedent having been created, which might in future lead us into difficulty and embarrassment.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. He was the Minister for Finance from 1948 to 1950.

3. The meeting was held on 13 August at the residence of John Matthai. It was attended by Loy W. Henderson, John Matthai, Jairamdas Doulatram, K.C. Neogy, Syama Prasad Mookerjee, Jagjivan Ram, N.V. Gadgil and Gopalaswami Ayyangar.

2. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi
August 22, 1949

My dear Matthai,

Thank you for your letter about the conversations with the American Ambassador. I did not suggest or imagine that anything improper was done or could be done. I knew that you would not permit this. From Bhattacharya's² report it appeared that the American Ambassador attended a meeting of the Economic Committee and not that it was an informal tea party.

American diplomats and the State Department have a habit, in dealing with Asian or other smaller countries, to adopt a superior, sermonizing attitude. They do that continually with countries like Iran, Iraq, etc., as well as some of the South American smaller countries. They have in the past attempted to take up that attitude in regard to India and we have had to pull them up. So private and more or less social talk apart, we try to observe strict diplomatic proprieties. Whenever anything has to be said to any Ambassador, he has to come to the Foreign Office for it. That is the practice in other countries. I very much doubt if our Ambassador in Washington would be invited to meet a Committee of the Cabinet or its equivalent there.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. P.C. Bhattacharya was Joint Secretary in Ministry of Finance at this time.

3. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi
August 26, 1949

My dear Matthai,

Two or three days ago V.P. Menon sent me a copy of a report.² It appeared from

1. J.N. Collection.

2. The report adopted on 20 August 1949 by the Secretaries stated that the economic crisis was of an "exceptionally grave character and that a coordinated plan of action is required to surmount it."

his covering letter³ (copy of which I enclose) that the Secretaries to the Government of India and some senior officers had been meeting, on their own initiative, for some time past to consider the present economic crisis. This report is the result of these meetings. I am sending it to you as it is without any comments at present.

This whole question of the economic position and what steps should be taken in regard to it is of such vital significance that I think full discussions should take place in Cabinet. You told us the other day that the situation was grave and you were going to propose big cuts in expenditure. This will, no doubt, have to be considered. But that will be rather a negative aspect of the problem and we should give much fuller consideration to the positive aspect of getting over present difficulties.

Any considerable retrenchment will of course have political consequences which may be far-reaching. On the one hand we guarantee superior services, on the other hand, we cannot even give employment to others. This position is not easily accepted by most people who are affected by it.

I have just seen this morning a telegram sent by the Food Ministry about the sugar position which has become serious. A little while ago, we were supposed to have too much sugar and we were thinking in terms of cutting down the sugar-cane producing area. Now we are suddenly told, within a few weeks, that we have to import fifty thousand tons of sugar at a cost of three crores of rupees. I confess I do not understand this and I feel that there is something wrong about our planning or lack of planning. We seem to depend entirely and helplessly on factors which we cannot control.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. In his letter of 23 August 1949, Menon, Adviser, Ministry of States, wrote, "We fully realize the political difficulties of the Government. Nevertheless, unless we look at facts in the face, we shall not be able to grapple with them. We all hope that under your leadership we shall be able to get over the present difficulties. We should like to assure you that in this endeavour the servants of the Government will spare no efforts to assist the Government."

4. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi
September 10, 1949

My dear Matthai,

I am looking forward to our talks in Cabinet about the general economic situation. Naturally my mind is full of this subject and I am rather sorry that I have to leave India soon at this stage when you are wrestling with all these problems.

One advantage of a crisis is that it forces people to think. It is out of crisis that a nation really develops, provided it refuses to be overcome by the crisis and looks ahead.

I hope that the Economic Committee is looking ahead a little and that it will think of tomorrow and the day after as well as today. My fear is that if, owing to stress of circumstances, we give up many of our productive schemes for the future, our tomorrow will suffer and even today people will be dispirited. We must economize of course all along the line. But I hope that economy will not affect any scheme that is really productive in the relatively near future.

One thing that worries me is the unemployment that is bound to be caused by some of our schemes for economy and retrenchment. I was wondering if we could not think out a scheme to meet this particular type of unemployment. That is, give some kind of work on subsistence allowance to those we cannot keep on normally, or at any rate to offer this work to them in some capacity or other. Of course the work would be of a different type for different types of persons. This is just a vague suggestion and I have no clear ideas on the subject. But I do feel that we ought to try to do something because we cannot ignore the human factor.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

5. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi

September 14, 1949

My dear Matthai,

Thank you for your three letters of September 12.² I am in entire agreement with you about cutting down expenditure. Perhaps we have been living beyond our means. Yet the odd thing is that our standard of living, generally speaking, does not go down and we adhere to the old standards imposed upon us by the British and retrench and cut down expenditure, when it affects those who can least afford it. I think there is something not quite right about this approach. We are told that we must continue to pay all our heavy salaries and I suppose we must. To an impartial observer this state of affairs must seem rather odd and rather lacking in the human approach to the problem.

Again, if we are to get out of our poor condition, we have to think of the morrow and build for it. Naturally there are limitations which we cannot get over. But the approach, I think, should be to starve today, if necessary, so that tomorrow may not suffer.

You say about Trone³ that his continued stay here will not serve any useful purpose, because in present conditions it is not possible to do any planning of real value. You give the example of a damaged ship.⁴ I suppose most countries in the world today, excepting the U.S., are in the position of damaged ships. Yet their approach to their problems is different. I should have thought that it is just when a ship is damaged or a country is at a low ebb that the hardest thinking is necessary in regard to future plans. This does not mean spending more money than one can afford. We cannot go beyond inevitable limitations. But it does mean adopting a positive and active policy, which should yield results in the relatively near future. Since the War, countries placed in a far worse position than ours have made considerable progress. England, Germany, Italy, Soviet Union, Japan have all in

1. File No. 26/(49)-PMS.

2. In his letters Matthai wrote that when the plans for various ministries of the Government had already been made and the aggregate amount fixed at about 2500 crores, "I would not advise our adding to the plan" or increase expenditure if it was not "absolutely indispensable."

3. S.A. Trone, an American engineer, was invited by the Government to advise on various projects and planning.

4. About taking guidance from Trone he wrote, "At a time when our main job is to repair a damaged ship, what we want is not able naval architects but experienced, competent workmen."

their various ways and under different circumstances faced crises and largely overcome them, although difficult times are still ahead. Indeed the most remarkable feature of the past thirty years or so has been how countries down and out and not receiving much help from outside have built themselves up through clear thinking and hard work, taking risks. They have done it, of course, only because they could enthuse their people and carry them along with them. Both Russia and Japan, though entirely different, had one common factor. They had little social capital and they got little from outside. Yet they industrialized themselves and increased their production very greatly, at the same time raising their standards of living. I do not think the Indian people are more backward than either of these and I do not see why we should not try to go ahead at a fast pace without taking any undue risks. Both Russia and Japan planned with the greatest thoroughness, had clear objectives before them and in a large measure achieved them within a remarkably short space of time. I give these two examples, which are entirely dissimilar. Russia was a socialist communist country, Japan a capitalist country with a very heavy army budget. Both have this in common, careful planning and hard and disciplined work; also an appeal to their people, because without their cooperation, nothing big could have been done.

You mention that much planning has been done in India by various Ministries. I hardly call that planning, from a national point of view. They are just a large number of separate schemes and projects, which have little relation with each other. You mention that the aggregate sum for the plans already made by various Ministries is 2,500 crores. That is a big enough sum and obviously we are not in a position to add to it or perhaps even to approach it. But behind all these plans which aggregate to this vast sum, there seems to me to be no common outlook, no clear objective, no coordinated approach. Also the human aspect of planning, that is unemployment, etc., are hardly considered. We have talked rather vaguely of greater production and of trying to solve individual problems separately. The need for a full picture is more urgent than ever. When one has sufficient funds at one's disposal, it is perhaps not so necessary to think of what to do and what not to do, though even then it seems to me essential to have a clear picture in one's mind towards which we are working. When adequate funds are not available, then it becomes much more necessary to have that picture, so that no money need be wasted. It is at a time of depression or of economic crisis that this necessity becomes paramount. That does not mean spending more money. It means using every rupee that is spent to the fullest advantage for the growth of that full plan.

Whatever planning we have done has been departmental planning, provincial planning, planning in fits and starts, and more or less industrial planning. We have planned for production, not thinking of consumption so much. Yet production can only succeed if there is consumption or the capacity to consume. There is another aspect of planning which grows more and more important and that is what I would call the human aspect of planning. That is good in itself. But it becomes incumbent

on us in a democratic age, when a Government depends on the goodwill of large numbers of people who make insistent demands. The people generally, I think, are prepared to put up with any discomfort and inconvenience at a time of war or crisis or difficulty, provided they know what the objective is. We offer them no objective, no clear picture, and they have a sensation of being asked to labour and to suffer with no promise of reward in the future.

You will remember that within two weeks, I think, of our taking office in the Interim Government just three years ago, I appointed an Advisory Board⁵ for planning with Neogy as its head and asked them to report within three months and suggest machinery for planning as well as certain priorities. They did report within the time, but the matter was hung up, because of the advent of the Muslim League who objected to any planning on principle for a united India. Later came Partition and all the upheavals that followed it and the refugee problem and the war in Kashmir. All that drained our resources and our energy. Yet throughout that period I felt that we were going along in a haphazard fashion without any clear vision as to where we are going. You will remember that even during the last year or more I have mentioned this business of planning to you on several occasions. It was as some beginning of this planning that we put up an economic unit and a statistical unit of the Cabinet. That of course was a very small beginning, but it was hoped to follow it up. The Economic Committee of the Cabinet was also the beginning. I was continually looking forward to something more definite emerging out of these early efforts.

When I asked you the other day about a Cabinet discussion on economic policy, etc., my mind was thinking more about larger and more fundamental policies than the immediate steps that we might take, although the latter were important. I have been feeling that we cannot allow any more time to pass without taking these definite steps both in regard to economic policy and the objectives to be aimed at. Once that is clear, other things fall into line. Of course, in this changing world and with continually changing conditions, there can be no finality about any plan and even our thinking has to be varied from time to time. One thing seems to me certain, that tradition and rather static methods of approach are inadequate to deal with a dynamic situation.

My mind is full of this subject and I want, therefore, a full discussion of it in Cabinet, perhaps at a number of meetings. The subject is too big to be considered by the Economic Committee. Whether we can dispose of these big matters in the

5. The Advisory Planning Board set up in 1946 under the chairmanship of K.C. Neogy, brought together the various schemes of Central and Provincial Governments and estimated Rs. 1,295 crores as the total cost of Central and Provincial Five Year Plans. The Board also recommended the establishment of a single, compact and authoritative organization, mainly advisory in character, for the purpose of planning. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol.1, p. 432.

short time at my disposal before I go to the U.S., I do not know. But certainly we can make a beginning.

It seems to be generally admitted that in spite of our poverty, there is plenty of money available in the country, if we can but touch it. I do not think we have even tried to make a popular appeal. I think that such an appeal together with a definite plan would largely succeed, provided the appeal was not on traditional and static lines, but raging tearing campaigns such as other countries indulge in, when difficulty faces them. I think we can get money both in our country and from abroad and we should no doubt try to get it. Nevertheless, I think we think too much in terms of money and less in other terms. Those other terms only come into play in connection with something that appeals to the people, something big and far-reaching, something that enthuses and draws out the best from everyone. No one can be enthused by an excess of caution and a rather static approach to problems.

Our capitalist classes have still no doubt a role to play in India and we should encourage it. But they have proved totally inadequate to face things as they are today in the country. They have no vision, no grit, no capacity to do anything big. The only alternative is to try to put forward some big thing ourselves and rope in not only these classes but the people as a whole. Otherwise we remain stagnant and at the most ward off catastrophe.

It is with this background that I thought of inviting Trone to come here. I wanted men with wide experience and ideas. None of our men, economists or politicians or businessmen have either this big experience of rapid development of a country or the ideas for it, except in a limited way or in a theoretical way. Trone had just that experience in very different environments—the U.S., Russia, China, Japan. We consulted large numbers of people about him and every single report was that he was a very exceptionally able man. The impression that I have got about him confirms this report and I think that he can be of the greatest use to us in our present state as well as in the future. As a matter of fact, I should like him to stay here for a number of years. But we need not think of that at present. Anyhow he should stay for a year, if we have to take any advantage of his experience. His going away after three months will have little value for us.

About Gyan Chand, I should have liked him to stay here, though I have no particular objection to his going to the U.N. for a very important position there. It is odd that quite a number of our men seem to make good in other countries and not in their own. Whether Gyan Chand is a good economist or not, I do not know. The one thing about him that has appealed to me is that he brings that human outlook to economic problems, which many economists rather lack. That may appear to be somewhat impractical in this hard world of realities. Yet another way of looking at this problem is that the ultimate reality is the human one especially in the world today when vast masses are politically awake and demand to be told where we are going and what we propose to do for them. I suppose Gyan Chand

is not doing any particular useful work at present here. But I was wondering if he could not be useful in the future. Perhaps after we have discussed these matters in Cabinet, we might be able to advise him what to do.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi
September 29, 1949

My dear Matthai,

There are several matters which are hanging in the air in spite of considerable discussion in Cabinet and otherwise. As I shall be going away soon, some decision should be arrived at before I go. Time is limited and the Cabinet will now meet just before my departure and for a day only. It is bound to have a great many things to consider.

One of these matters relates to my suggestion about planning. I need not go into the arguments. But I do feel that at every stage, and more especially in our present difficulties, an attempt at a planned approach is essential. This does not mean our spending more money than we can afford. It does mean a clearer vision of the objectives from the economic, social and political points of view and some definite notion of the way we have to go in order to achieve those objectives. No planning can be dealt with as permanent. Day to day developments and circumstances must necessarily vary it. But without that clear objective and the means to achieve it, and without an attempt at a scientific approach to the problem, only confusion can result and haphazard methods of work involving frequent change as we try to catch up with changing events.

I have long been convinced of this and for years past I have thought on these lines. This is apart from the actual policy to be adopted, whatever that might be. The years I spent in the National Planning Committee influenced my mind greatly in this direction. Even before that, the Congress had talked about planning. Recently, that is some months ago, it reiterated this demand and asked us to go ahead with it.² Ever since I have come into this Government, I have thought of it, but

1. File No. 49-GG/49, President's Secretariat. Extracts.
2. In a resolution adopted on 5 April 1949, the Congress Working Committee decided to form a National Planning Committee comprising the Congress President, the Prime Minister, the Minister of Industry and Supply, J.C. Ghosh, Ambalal Sarabhai and K.T. Shah to draw up a scheme to continue planning.

overriding causes and events have prevented us from doing much in that direction. Now that we have to face vital issues affecting our future, I feel that we can no longer delay this. The more I think of it, and I have given a great deal of thought during the past few months especially, the less I understand myself what we are aiming at. If I do not understand this clearly, how much less can we expect the intelligent or unintelligent public to understand it. And if they do not understand it, what support, not to speak of enthusiastic response, can we expect from them in regard to any policy that we pursue. That support can only be on the basis of faith in personalities. That helps, but it is a weak plank and public life cannot be built up for long on that basis. Other groups and other parties can always take advantage of this position. It is true that they talk irresponsibly and sometimes even foolishly, because they do not shoulder the burden of Government. Nevertheless, a country or a party cannot merely have a negative policy, more especially when that negative policy has brought no success at all. The negative policy of course may be necessary and even essential. But it is to be supplemented with something positive also.

The world today exhibits many conflicts of ideas and methods of approach in the political and economic plane. Able and intelligent people of integrity differ, because the situation is an exceedingly complicated one and no sensitive person can be complacent about it. Personally, as I have grown in years, I have had less and less liking for any dogmatic approach to an intricate and changing situation. I think that each country has its own problems, its own background, and its own genius. It is folly for any country to try to imitate any other, ignoring its own special features. Nevertheless, there are many common features in the world situation today and we can learn from them and adapt ourselves to them. We may make mistakes and pay for them, but surely the greatest mistake is not to view the whole scheme of things in its entirety, realistically and objectively, and to decide on clear objectives and plans. If once this is done, the next step of complete coordination follows much more easily and only by coordinated effort can real results be achieved.

One thing that is obvious to me is the failure all over the world of the present policies, whether political or economic, that are being followed. We drift towards some almost inevitable disaster and seem to be powerless to avert it. And yet I do not believe in the inevitability of this disaster in the world and I think that it is possible to prevent it. In any event it is man's job to try to do so. A continuation of present policies all over the world means that we cannot even profit by past errors. The old order has been in the process of cracking up in many ways for the last 35 years. I think it is quite incapable of solving the world's problems, if it continues in its old framework. The greater part of our lives have been spent in crisis after crisis. What changes must be introduced is not easy to determine, but changes there must be. Even to consider the problem, one must go to basic causes and seek basic remedies, or else the poison spreads. It is this consideration, therefore, of any major problem in all its aspects and with the national implications

and its international consequences, that has to be considered as scientifically and objectively as possible. We must be courageous enough to look at it and to deal with it in the manner we think best.

You will forgive me for writing all this rather platitudinous stuff. But as I am going away very soon, I wanted to unburden myself. Keenly as I feel the necessity for the setting up of a planning authority in India, I feel also that we cannot do it just at present. We cannot take such a step in a hurry. This will have to wait till my return from America and fuller consideration. At the same time delay also appears to me to be dangerous and perhaps even fatal. I hope, in any event, that we shall take this subject up when I return.

In the meantime, it was my desire to prepare the ground for this planning authority in some way or other. Even that idea I am now giving up to some extent, as I do not wish to rush my colleagues without their having the fullest opportunity for consideration and discussion.

While we are postponing this matter for the present, something can still be done quietly and without any fuss...

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. To V.P. Menon¹

New Delhi
October 2, 1949

My dear V.P.,

...I should like your Committee to consider the problems we have to face not only in the immediate present but rather in some perspective. That is to say the first step should be the laying down of objectives, not the vague and general objectives, but fairly specific and definite ones. The next step would be to indicate the general method of approach to this problem: How far there should be planning. How should the planning authority be constituted. How should planning necessarily involve central direction. How can this be coordinated with provincial autonomy.

1. File No. 26(49)/49-PMS. Extracts. Also available in Cabinet Secretariat Papers.

Many such questions arise. The point is that we should look a little ahead and not get lost in the difficulties of the moment.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. The Dangers of Centralized Planning¹

I have received this evening a report from Dr S. Trone after his visit to Calcutta, Jamshedpur, Asansol, Dhanbad, Sindri, Giridih and Bokaro.² The report is a preliminary one. He has prepared it rather hurriedly, as he wanted me to see it before I left for America.

It is obvious from this report that Dr Trone knows his job and writes with personal experience. His comments and recommendations are therefore worthy of attention. I am sorry I am going away and shall be away for five weeks or so. However, when I return, I hope to consider the matters referred to in the report with my colleagues in the Cabinet. By that time Dr Trone will perhaps have prepared his fuller report.

I am particularly impressed by the emphasis that Dr Trone lays on the danger of distant control. This criticism has been made to me by other eminent foreign scientists and technical men also. I have myself long felt that this has to be remedied. It is a relic of the British times, when Government was not directly concerned with industry or big development schemes. Now that we are undertaking these schemes, it is not possible to continue to function in the old way which was perhaps good enough then but is completely out of date and unsuited to present conditions and the kind of work we have to undertake. This is a matter requiring urgent attention.

1. Note circulated among members of Union Cabinet, 4 October 1949. File No. 26(95)/49-PMS. Also available in J.N. Collection.
2. In his report, Trone suggested autonomy for Government owned industries and projects as central control from Delhi was responsible for bottlenecks and delay in the speedy implementation of planned development; the Damodar Valley Corporation be made autonomous and headed by a chief engineer, preferably from the United States with practical experience of handling such enormous projects; and the setting up of a central planning agency directly responsible to the Prime Minister "to coordinate the activities in different fields, to overcome bottlenecks as they develop, and to transform plan from paper to reality."

It is partly connected with reorganization of the machinery of Government at the top in Delhi. Even apart from this, it involves a great deal of freedom being given to institutions and industries owned by Government. Personally I have long felt that every large scale Government undertaking should not be run departmentally. It should be formed into some kind of a public corporation with a good deal of freedom in functioning. But even corporations may not have the necessary freedom. Dr Trone points this out in the case of the Damodar Valley Corporation,³ which apparently is still largely controlled from New Delhi.

It is clear from this report that progress is often held up by bottlenecks. Unless careful thought is given to each separate aspect of an undertaking and all these are coordinated, there will be delay and great loss. Delay itself means heavy loss, when a large amount of capital is locked up. Therefore the necessary machinery and equipment should always be ordered in time and the trained personnel be ready to use it.

Dr Trone lays great stress on our having a first-class chief engineer for the Damodar Valley Corporation. His argument is a reasonable one. I do not know the facts about the Damodar Valley. If it is necessary for me to try to find some such chief engineer, while I am in the United States, I can make an attempt, though of course I shall have little time for such work.

I hope that the Ministries chiefly concerned with the subjects dealt with in Dr Trone's report will ask their officers to consider carefully all the comments and recommendations made in the report and to offer their own comments. On my return from the U.S., I hope all this will be ready for full consideration.

3. The Corporation, set up on 18 February 1949, aimed at the development of irrigation, flood control and power generation facilities in West Bengal and Bihar.

THE ECONOMY

II. Devaluation

1. Devaluation of the Rupee¹

Friends and Comrades,

I am addressing you tonight, more especially in regard to the situation created by the devaluation of the pound and the rupee. This news must have come to you rather suddenly, and many of you must have wondered what all this meant, and what effect it will have, not only on our national economy, but on your own domestic economy.

This morning you must have read the press communique issued by our Government. This communique² states the reasons for devaluation, frankly and fully. I should like to add some words further to explain the position to you.

Although the devaluation came rather suddenly, it has been known for sometime that owing to increasing trade deficit with dollar countries and the depreciation of her gold and dollar reserves, Great Britain would have to take some such action to redress the position. The able leaders of Great Britain have, after careful thought, announced their decision.³ We are, of course, interested in the prosperity of their people, and we hope, that the action taken by them will have the desired results.

We have also taken similar action in regard to the dollar value of the rupee. Why did we do so? It was not our dollar difficulties or any sudden emergency that compelled us to take that action. It was not because of any pressure by the British Government. Indeed, they did not even recommend any course of action to us. We are completely independent in matters of currency and exchange, as in all other matters, and it was not at all, in any sense, obligatory on us to take the step that we have taken. That step was a matter of free choice. But choice is often governed by circumstances and we have to take this new circumstance of the

1. Broadcast to the Nation, 20 September 1949, New Delhi. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L. (Original in Hindi).
2. The communique stated that the Government of India had decided to devalue the rupee in terms of U.S. currency from 30.225 cents to 21 cents to a rupee as a "corrective to the balance of payments difficulties in regard to dollars," to which India had not agreed to earlier because "in view of the general conditions of Indian economy devaluation was not likely to solve India's problem of dollar shortage." However, India had to devalue her currency as a sequel to Britain's devaluation which "created a situation in which it became impossible for India to avoid similar action without detriment to her economy" as Indian trade was linked with the sterling area and could not therefore allow the rupee to appreciate in relation to sterling as that could endanger the "markets of her exports" and create a "psychological barrier" in her trade relations.
3. Stafford Cripps, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, after a conference with Attlee and Harold Wilson, on 18 September 1949, announced the devalued rate of pound sterling, as two dollars eighty cents per pound against the previous rate of four dollars three cents per pound.

devaluation of the pound into account. The sterling area is important to us in our international economic relations. A great part of our international trade is with this area. Most of our export markets are also in this area, and it is important that we should not only maintain but improve our export position. If we had not taken parallel action in revising the dollar-rupee ratio, the prices of our goods in our principal export countries, would have risen immediately, and that would have affected our trade interests and all those engaged in the work of production in our country. The devaluation of the pound, therefore, made the revision of the dollar-rupee rate almost unavoidable in the interests of our own country. Incidentally, our exports to hard currency countries will also be stimulated by the new rate of exchange.

You must be chiefly interested, however, in the effects of this devaluation on our internal economy and more especially, on the internal price level and the cost of living index. Many people have already expressed views differing from one another and these are likely to confuse the public and create a psychology which may be detrimental to the economy of the country, and tend to bring about a situation which is not warranted on facts.⁴ There is no reason, whatever, why the general level of prices and consequently the cost of living in this country need go up because of this devaluation. This, it must be clearly understood, has no significance so far as the internal value of the rupee is concerned, or so far as its value in the sterling area is concerned.

The cash which any individual may possess or his bank deposits will not be touched in any manner. Nor will the purchasing power of this money be affected, except in regard to some commodities, which come from the dollar areas. It is true that as a result of devaluation imports from the hard currency countries will become dearer. But it does not follow and it is absolutely wrong to draw the inference that the general level of prices and consequently the cost of living in this country, will go up. The main items which enter into the cost of living index are essentially of indigenous origin. For those which are imported, we depend mostly on the sterling area countries and for these there will be no change in prices. For the same reason cost of production should not rise. It is true that certain articles

4. For example, N.G. Ranga maintained that devaluation "will not harm Indian masses", R.K. Shanmukham Chetty explained that it was "a temporary remedy"; Lakshmi Pat Singhania, industrialist and President of the Bharat Chamber of Commerce, said that there may not be any qualitative change in export to dollar area and India was "paying the price of Commonwealth partnership"; the Associated Chamber of Commerce and Bengal Chamber of Commerce feared that devaluation would add to 30 per cent rupee cost of India's essential purchases from dollar area leading to further inflation; T.T. Krishnamachari thought that "India is not prepared for this devaluation"; and Asoka Mehta reiterated that devaluation would only hit the working class because of inflation.

like non-ferrous metals, have to be imported from the dollar area.⁵ But their effect on the cost of production of any article, entering in the cost of living index will be negligible.

There is the question of cost on plant and machinery. Most of these come to us from the sterling area. It should be possible to switch over even more in this respect, from the dollar area to the sterling area.

The major items in the cost of living are food and clothing. So far as food is concerned we have already completed our programme for imports from the dollar area for this year and, therefore, devaluation will have no adverse effect on the cost of our food or food imports or on our food subsidies. For the future we shall avoid, as far as possible, importing foodstuffs, from the hard currency areas. Indeed, we are going to try to avoid importing any foodstuffs.

As regards cloth, most of the countries on which we depend for cotton have already devalued to some extent. Here also, therefore, there is no reason for any rise in the prices.

An important item for the rural population is kerosene oil. This again is obtained by us from the sterling area.

In regard to bullion, prices were already considerably higher than those corresponding to the revised value of the rupee and are not related to world prices. There is no reason why they should go up any further. There is, therefore, no reason to apprehend a rise in the cost of living. Indeed, we cannot afford any further rise in internal prices of our basic commodities. Any tendency on the part of these prices to rise will have to be countered by the exercise of regulatory public authority. In spite of the devaluation there is no ground for thinking that there will be no room for a reduction of the price level. Government will continue their endeavour to bring down the present prices to more reasonable levels by encouraging the increase of production, and by rationalization of production. There is considerable scope for this in our industry.

So far as the main articles of our exports to the dollar area are concerned, namely, jute, jute goods, oil-seeds, manganese and tea, it is necessary that whatever benefit we might get by devaluation should not be lost by prices being pushed up. Already, there has been a certain amount of price resistance which was affecting the volume of our dollar earning. There is no inherent justification for any rise in the prices of these commodities, and any speculative action will be detrimental to the interests of the country. This also applies to the cost of goods, already imported from the dollar area, and lying with the importers and traders. Any attempt by these people

5. Items imported from the dollar area included cereals, lubricating oils, hemp, timber for ship-building, chemicals, drugs and certain electrical instruments. Machinery imported included aeroplane parts, motor trucks and spare parts, and moulding powder for the plastic goods industry. Imports from the dollar area accounted for 20 per cent of total imports at this time.

to raise the prices of these goods, or to hold back these goods in the hope of getting higher prices will be anti-social and an exhibition of a selfish acquisitive mentality, which pays no heed to the good of the nation and the people generally. There is even less justification for the prices of any other goods to be raised sympathetically. I should like, therefore, to appeal to the businessmen of this country and to the people generally, in this matter. For them and indeed for all of us the interest of the nation and of the masses of our people must be paramount and profiteering by a few at the expense of the many and to the detriment of national economy cannot be tolerated. That would indicate a complete lack of patriotism and disregard of the national interest. No government can stand by and allow this disregard to go unchecked, and the Government of India will take all necessary steps to check any such tendency. To the public I would make an appeal to refuse to pay anything more than they have been paying hitherto. It is ultimately on the cooperation of the public generally, that we have to rely on checking the anti-social activities of a few.

The revision of the exchange rate is only a palliative and not a remedy for our economic difficulties. That remedy will have to seek out deep-rooted causes and remove them. The action that we have taken was called for as a measure of adjustment to the situation which has been created for us and which we have to take into account in framing our economic policy. We have to be vigilant and we have to work and we have to see to it that the predatory instincts of a few do not come in the way of the nation's well-being and advance.

I have often told you that the question of food is of basic and primary importance for us. Indeed all our economy depends upon it and if we solve this problem of food, as we are determined to, it will not be difficult for us to get over our other difficult hurdles. Therefore, it becomes most important for us to concentrate on food production in every way and to avoid all wastage. I am glad to tell you that the prospect in regard to food is good and we are making considerable progress. Even more is needed and I should like all our provincial and State Governments, all our local authorities, and local officers, our agriculturists and the people, generally, to push ahead with this matter of food production with all their might. Fortunately the harvest all over India promises to be good. Fortunately also we have discovered large quantities of water in the Rajputana desert and out of sand of that desert food will come to us. We have already decided to put an end to all imports of rice in future. We fixed a date, the end of 1951, when no more food will be imported. I hope and believe that that date can be brought much nearer. To that end we must all work.

So, in conclusion, I want to tell you that this devaluation should not affect your private lives and your domestic economy. We have our economic difficulties and we have taken you into our confidence in regard to them, because with your help and cooperation we shall, most certainly, overcome them. There is no need for anxiety, but there is need for our facing the issue firmly and with confidence.

and our working hard and our preventing anti-social practices. Our difficulties are a challenge to our manhood and to our sense of patriotism and disciplined cooperative effort. I feel sure that we shall face this situation, as we have faced many more difficult situations with courage and calm confidence. *Jai Hind.*

2. Devaluation and Employment¹

Jagjivan Ramji,² Sisters and Brothers,

When you invited me a few days ago to come here on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the Employment Service,³ I accepted the invitation with pleasure though there was some hesitation because of the reasons that you yourself have mentioned. At a time when it is most necessary for us to reduce unemployment and expand the work of this office, we have to curtail its activities, which is a painful thing.

Recently there have been some incidents about which you are aware of and about which you must have read in the newspapers. They make it necessary for us to act very carefully, so that we do not get into greater difficulties. It is obvious that no nation can, ultimately, run away from reality. What I mean is that whatever vision we may have in our minds, it would be dangerous to tread a path as if in a dream, ignoring the actual situation in the country or the world. It is possible that the complaint of some people that we tend to live in a world of ideas is correct, and they may be justified to some extent in saying that we have spent beyond our means and made numerous other mistakes. We often get good advice—'do not do these things, follow the old traditions of the world as they alone will benefit you and your country, etc.' If you examine the old traditions of the world, you will see that their main feature has been that those who can make money should earn money, and those who can find employment should work. And if there is no work, unemployment should increase, no matter what hardships it causes. It is true that if there are no jobs, what can be done? Can jobs be created by force?

1. Address at the fourth anniversary of the National Employment Service, New Delhi, 21 September 1949. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L. (Original in Hindi).
2. He was the Minister for Labour at this time.
3. The National Employment Service was set up in 1945, under the Directorate-General of Resettlement and Employment, to help in the resettlement and reemployment of demobilized members of the defence services and discharged war-workers. In 1947, following Partition, its scope was enlarged to include displaced persons, and in 1948 to include all categories of employment seekers. By 1949, the Directorate, functioning under Ministry of Labour, was running 54 employment exchanges and 54 district employment offices.

But of late another idea has been spreading in the world and influencing people's thinking, which has to be borne in mind by every society and government, which is that as far as possible, there should be no unemployment in the country and people should generally be well-off. People should not be abandoned to their fate to be crushed by circumstances. These are two ways of looking at this problem. It becomes difficult to implement any idea if it is carried too far. But there are two methods and every government and society has to decide which method should be adopted.

During the last two or three days you must have read in the newspapers about the recent changes in the exchange rates of the rupee and the dollar and the pound. It is a complicated matter; I will not say much about it. I do not know what people have in their mind or what they have thought about it. I tried to explain over the radio yesterday⁴ that there is no reason for this to affect our daily lives or the prices of the common consumer goods nor would the value of the rupee fall. In fact it is a strange game played by the currencies, gold and silver in the world. It is a peculiar world in which real wealth produced by you and me by our hard work, whether it is from the land or from factories or from cottage industries plays a subordinate role than the currency, gold and silver which are mere tools of trade. People sitting in big offices and banks play this game of chess, which affects millions and millions of people.

Well, unfortunately this is the way of the world today. I feel that this trend will not last very long in the world and the reality will come to the fore, more and more, day by day. Suppose, for instance, we produce everything that we need, sufficient quantity of food, clothing and all the other essential commodities in our own country, then we will be less affected by the prices of goods in the United States or the United Kingdom. The difficulty arises when we have to buy something from outside. So, we must start producing these goods ourselves as soon as possible, whether it is food or any other essential commodity. We do not have to bother about luxury goods. They can be imported, if possible, and moreover, it does not matter if we cannot get them. So we have to make an effort in this direction. But at a time when the world situation demands that we should produce things ourselves, it is not clear why unemployment should increase or why there should be slowing down of production. Normally speaking, when there is a demand for something, production should increase and lead to more employment, but in the present-day social and economic set-up just the opposite seems to happen—the more the shortages, the more the unemployment, and as a result production goes down.

Well, this is a difficult matter. I was telling you about the changing exchange rates of the dollar, the rupee, and the pound. In my opinion, it should not really affect our lives. There is bound to be some effect, but the common people would not be affected and I am more concerned about the common people. We may face

4. See *ante*, pp. 41-45.

some difficulties in procuring few commodities, but if we are far-sighted then we can take advantage of this and get out of our present confusion and grow really strong by following the right path. I do not have any evidence to prove it but it is my feeling that all these changes will prove beneficial to India, provided we wake up, take advantage of the circumstances, do not panic or feel down-hearted, and do not try to take unfair advantage of the changes. Unfortunately, we have seen in the past that people do try to take unfair advantage of such changes for personal gains without caring at all whether it causes harm to the country or the people. The moment they get an opportunity, they increase the prices of essential commodities which sell in the black market. The stock goes underground and is taken out gradually. All these trends about which I heard during the last two or three days are in evidence. This is very wrong and, as I said last night, you and I, the public and the Government, have to cooperate to put an end to it. The Government alone cannot do it if it does not have the cooperation of the people, nor can the public do it on its own without the help and support of the Government. So both have to do it together. We will make all efforts for it. But our efforts cannot succeed unless there is a strong public opinion which makes the wrong-doer realize that he is doing something very bad, and committing a crime and doing an unpatriotic act. He should also realize that people also feel similarly about his activities and get angry with him. I want this kind of atmosphere to be created. This is what I wanted to say in the context of the rupee-pound ratio.

In the last two or three days you may have read many statements and opinions, both for and against, in the newspapers in this connection. People in India have an inordinate desire to give their advice on any occasion to India and to the world—they cannot keep quiet—as if the world is waiting for their advice. Anyhow, the newspapers have been full of them. Well, a knowledge of the different points of view makes it easier to form one's own opinion. You must have read all kinds of views in praise of it as well as against it. You must have read one thing more. The main responsibility for this decision rests with the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Cripps. You must also remember that there was no compulsion for us to take the decision which we took in regard to the rupee. There was no compulsion on account of the dollar or any other special reason for us to do so. But when the value of the pound changed, we were faced with a new problem and we reached the conclusion that, in the circumstances, it would be better to reconsider our relationship vis-a-vis the dollar and the pound. As you must have noticed, we are not the only ones who have done this, but many countries of the world—in fact half the countries of the world—have done so.⁵ The remaining countries have not made any changes in their exchange rates vis-a-vis

5. By 20 September 1949, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, Sri Lanka, Republic of Ireland, Canada, France, Iceland, Egypt, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Israel, Burma and the Netherlands had devalued their currencies.

the dollar or the pound. Hence in these countries there is no question of any rise or fall in prices. There the old condition is prevailing.

You must have read in today's newspapers that Pakistan has decided not to devalue its currency and to maintain the old ratio vis-a-vis the dollar. Well, they have done what they think is proper and they must go their way. In due course of time only will it be known as to who was right and who was wrong.

After making the announcement about the devaluation of the pound vis-a-vis the dollar, Sir Stafford Cripps said⁶ that despite devaluation he would not allow unemployment to increase in England and the effort to give jobs to everyone would continue. It is worth noting what he said, that one of the main reasons for the devaluation of the pound was to ensure that unemployment did not increase, whatever happened. You must think over this carefully. England has taken this step of devaluation of the pound, knowing well all its possible consequences, a step which to less intelligent people might appear as something which lowers England's prestige, but they have made sure that their programme of providing employment to everyone is not jeopardized. This was the fundamental point in their approach to the problem. The alternative would have been, as I mentioned earlier, the age-long phenomenon of increasing unemployment leading to low production in factories, economic depression with increased demand for exporting goods in order to earn foreign exchange for buying necessary consumer goods. This used to be a common practice which led to great disparities in our social set-up. If there is over-production, it leads first to unemployment and then to under-production and under-consumption. The whole phenomenon is amazingly complex. Cripps said that he did not want to be responsible for increasing unemployment which would adversely affect the lives of the common people. However, I do not know if he will be able to do what he has said. I am not an expert on these matters. But I like his point of view because he is looking at the affairs of his country from the point of view of the common people and is trying to avoid imposing unnecessary burdens on them. So long as there is no increase in unemployment and no increase in prices I think Cripps' policy is correct. It does not matter if the income of the people does not increase or the prices of one or two commodities slightly go up.

There has been criticism that it is not wise to look at the problem from the point of view of a welfare State because it leads to unnecessary expenditure and ultimately leads to the ruin and fall of a country.⁷ What does it mean? If our goal

6. On 19 September 1949.

7. Commenting on devaluation, on 19 September 1949, G.D. Birla said that the British economy had failed because "she lived extravagantly and, without having the wherewithal, she decided to convert herself into a welfare State; she tried to impose on the country the so-called controlled economy, knowing that Britain's progress was entirely due to a competitive economy of private enterprise", and added that "victory has gone not to a planned economy but to the free competitive economy of America."

is not the welfare of the common people then what can be the aim of the Government? It would only mean that there can be no welfare of the people. I do not think that there is anyone who does not desire to have welfare of the people as a goal. If a government does not clearly adopt a positive policy of a welfare State, it can only mean that there would be no welfare. Even if things are not always under our control, and we often stumble and fall, it is important to know what our goals and policies are and which way we wish to go. If we do not wish to have a welfare State, which way do we go? I feel that it would be wrong to follow any other path.

I know that I am often confused and you may criticize me about the mistakes that I or our Government make, like wasteful expenditure, etc. But I do not want you to say that the picture of India's future that we have in our minds and the way we wish to go are basically wrong. In fact, if we make mistakes, it is because we want to get things done in a hurry in order to get results for the welfare of the people. We may not succeed because the mere desire does not lead anywhere. What is needed is hard work and resources for carrying out the various tasks. India can progress not by making a few laws but by building factories and by increasing production by hard work. Now these things cannot be done in a hurry however much we may try. Even in countries where big revolutions have taken place, in spite of a complete upheaval and the opportunity of starting with a clean slate, it has taken them at least twenty-five, thirty or forty years to develop. Please do not think that it can be done anywhere in a hurry. In the developed countries people had had to face numerous difficulties and bear great hardships. So we have to go forward to the best of our ability. No nation can make a sudden progress by resolutions, slogans and laws.

We have to keep two to three things in mind. First, we have to see in which direction we are going. We must have a clear picture before us. We may make changes in that picture as we gain experience. That is a different matter. But we must have a definite picture before us, which ultimately can only be the welfare of the entire nation. People can become prosperous only by hard work. We are not going to give them doles or pensions. All of them will have to work. They should get an opportunity to work. They have to be trained so that they may be able to work efficiently and do the specialized tasks of the modern world and be able to compete with others. We cannot hope to compete with others if we do not have trained men. We can increase our wealth by having trained people to do specialized works. Then that wealth has to be properly distributed, so that the country may develop and become strong. We have to keep this picture of the prosperity of the people before us, because it is the real strength of the nation.

We have to plan in order to achieve this goal though we may have to make changes in it from time to time because no plan can be final and various factors like resources, availability of trained men, etc., are bound to have an effect on our plan. But the basic plan must not change, nor the broad direction in which we want

to go. If we make an effort to go in the right direction to the best of our ability and wisdom, we will succeed. It is possible that someone else may be wiser and may succeed in going faster. That is a different matter. But the picture should be always before us. If anyone tells me that the picture, the goal itself, of uplifting the common people is wrong and that the country cannot progress by it, then another picture is created which at least my mind and heart cannot accept. I consider it wrong. But whether I accept it or not the modern world cannot accept it.

Well, we have these goals before us but often they slip from the mind as the pressure of circumstances and lack of resources prevent us from going nearer our goals. No doubt we have to be extremely careful and avoid useless expenditure, particularly because due to pressure of circumstances we are being forced to stop even some essential tasks. I feel very sad that the things in which I am greatly interested and for which we have drawn up large plans, like construction of dams and reservoirs, which would pave the way for generating electricity and hydro-electric power which are essential for the country's development in agriculture and industries, have to be slowed down because these require vast sums of money. I feel really sad about this. We have had to cut down our plans for education also, because that too involves a great deal of expenditure. But we are helpless and have to observe strict economy. Otherwise the result will be that we will have to cut down our future plans also. So it is better that we bear some hardships now and stabilize our position so that after six or eight months or a year, we may be able to pursue our plans more vigorously.

The pressure of circumstances casts its shadow on the pictures and plans in our minds. But if we keep the picture clear in our minds, then as soon as that shadow is lifted, we can march ahead rapidly. It would be a great mistake to give up our goal because at a time like this we have to be very clear about our goal. Otherwise we stand in grave danger of being led astray. Therefore, however much we may have to restrain our steps now, we should be on the right track and work in the right direction, and even if we go forward a bit slowly, our steps should move in the right direction.

It is a common complaint against the Government that a great many projects are started to help the people but soon the number of officers exceeds the number of beneficiaries. I cannot say it to everyone but I tell you that it is sometimes true but please don't repeat this to anyone else. This is true not only of India but of the whole world, I think. Big organizations and industries of the Government work with a momentum of their own and it is difficult to stop their expansion. Like trees they keep sprouting branches, leaves and flowers. It is especially so in a big machinery like the Government of India. As I said, it is so in foreign countries too. I remember in England during the War-time there was a very strange situation—in an office where 10-15 people used to work, their number increased to one thousand and nobody knew what the other person was doing. So this happens and, of course, this should be curbed. This employment agency was started in order

to find jobs for our demobilized soldiers. Then it took up other tasks and there is no doubt that it has done excellent work in the last few years. It could have done even better perhaps, I do not know, but it has done good work. There is no doubt that we need an organization like this here in the Centre as well as in the provinces. In fact it is required in any modern civilized State, until the social set-up changes to such an extent that people get training at various places and find employment themselves.

Hence this organization is absolutely essential to work as a link and bring different people and organizations together. Even if there are great pressures on us to curtail its activities, it is obvious that it is impossible to wind it up completely and it would be wholly wrong also to do so. I have full faith that this work will continue even if we have to restrict its activities somewhat. I also hope that because of the serious efforts of Shri Jagjivan Ram, its activities will not be curtailed much, although I am sorry to say some curtailment is bound to take place. But as soon as possible its work will again be expanded with great vigour and zeal. *Jai Hind.*

3. The Urgent Necessity of Self-Reliance¹

I am grateful to you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity for saying a few words. I should have preferred to speak more or less at the end of the debate. But, unfortunately, I have to leave Delhi tomorrow for a far off country. I shall not be here at tomorrow's debate. I am sorry that I have to leave the country at this particular moment when we have to face so many important problems and when this House would be sitting either in the capacity in which it is sitting now or in another capacity. But, having made certain arrangements and given certain assurances, it is difficult for me to change them.

My honourable colleague, the Finance Minister, has placed before the House a plain and unvarnished account of the events.² No doubt, at the end of this debate, he will meet the various points that have been raised. Others in this House who are more expert in economic and financial affairs than I, will also throw light on the situation. Personally, I shall try to think more of certain basic matters, not being myself an economic pundit, of certain basic approaches to these problems, than of the various other rather complicated and confusing issues that have arisen.

1. Statement in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative), 5 October 1949. *Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative) Debates*, Vol. V, Part II, 5-6 October 1949, pp.46-49. Extracts.
2. John Matthai explained in detail events leading to Britain's decision to devalue her currency and of India following suit.

Obviously, we are not in a very happy state at the present moment. The fact that devaluation has had to be accepted is itself rather an index of that unhappy state. If we had been more fortunately placed, we would have gone our own way, not being too much influenced by other events. No country, I suppose, can avoid being influenced by other events in this world in which the various countries are so intimately connected, especially in regard to economic and other matters. Nevertheless, they can be more independent and less dependent possibly, especially in regard to essential things. We have found that we are depending more. That is not good for us. Most people knew that, of course. But, this shock has perhaps been helpful in making us feel a little furiously about that. To that extent, it is a good shock. We have for a long time past talked a great deal about more production, about the Grow-More-Food Campaign and the like. A great deal of our energy has been spent on that, and no doubt, some results have followed. Whether the results have been commensurate with the energy and the money spent, it is a little difficult to judge, for the simple reason that we do not seem to possess adequate statistics. I think that in the last two or three months at least there has been an acute realization of this fact and probably a more ordered approach to this problem. For some months past, specially in regard to food, I think there has been a marked development.

I do not see myself how we can get a grip over this problem unless we have an overall view of this picture and have definite objectives as to what we are aiming at. Then, we can change these objectives, of course, with experience. But we must have some overall view. Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava insisted in a slightly limited context on this overall view of the picture. I entirely agree with him except for the fact that I enlarge that picture of overall view still further. He talked more of exports and imports.³ That is important. Personally, I should think that we have arrived at a stage when we realize completely that we cannot have all the good things of life together. There are so many good things. There are so many good schemes. Every Ministry has a scheme, every department has a scheme, every provincial Government has a scheme. They are all good in themselves and there is nothing to be said against them. But, we simply cannot have all these schemes, because we have not got the resources, either money or trained personnel or materials, or whatever it may be. If we cannot have all the good things of life, we have to choose which ones are more essential, more necessary than the other. The first thing we have to do is not to have unessential things because they tax our energy and resources. That means, so far as imports are concerned, we must put an end to everything that is not absolutely essential. Then, in regard to what are essential things, there too, we have to lay down some kind of priority.

3. Bhargava spoke in favour of devaluation and supported the Finance Minister's argument that "in the economy of India with 75 per cent of her imports and exports in the soft currency area, the country could not have adopted over-valuation of its rupee as its basic policy."

How are we to get at that priority? We can do it in a more or less ad hoc fashion, thinking something more important than the other. I think the right approach in order to get at the right priority is to have some fixed picture of what you are aiming at. Having got that, then, we can use that as a yard measure of what is important as number one and what is important as number two. For instance, obviously, the thing of basic importance is food. Unless we have sufficient food in the country, everything goes wrong. We may wait for other things, but we cannot easily wait for long if we are hungry. Therefore food is of the very first importance. And we have laid a great deal of stress upon that, in fact, I would say that we have laid more stress than was necessary, except in one respect, that is in regard to the import of food and in regard to the production of food. I think we have to teach ourselves first of all, and then our people, that it may be desirable even to have slightly less food and to tighten our belts than to import in huge quantities, at the cost, obviously, of something else. I do not mean to say that we must stop all imports, as some Honourable Members have suggested. That is a matter for the House to consider carefully. We cannot take off-hand decisions in that respect. But I do feel that the approach to the problem should be to import as little food as is absolutely essential, and to spend, if I may say so, the money that we save from importing food, on making more food in every way. That money will remain here. It will go to our farmers and to other folk and thereby help us in a double way. Sometime back I suggested, and Government more or less agreed to it, that we should stop rice imports completely, though not wheat, indeed if necessary we may get more of it to replace the rice and I still adhere to that opinion. But I should like that to be carefully examined, because one cannot simply lay down one policy without examining all the consequences and the likely results. But I am quite convinced in my mind that the import of rice should end, and even if we import it, it must be obtained at the bare minimum and treated more or less as reserve for emergencies and not as stock for distribution in the normal course. But I should like to have considerable reserves of more wheat and rice and we should treat them as reserves, unless there is a grave emergency. For the rest, we must rely on our own resources.

So the first is the food problem and we have dealt with it. We have fixed a date—1951—after which we are supposed not to import any more foodstuffs. Many experts and wise people warned us that that date was too near. But personally I am now inclined to say that that date should be 1950 and not 1951; and I do believe—and I say that with all respect to the wise people—that we will confound them and we will produce enough food to carry us round to that date, even if we have to tighten our belt a little, as I said. Now, if we do that, there will be a very large saving on that account alone which we can utilize for other purposes, for purposes of giving help for development schemes, for giving employment and for cottage industries and the like.

I agree completely with the Honourable Member who just preceded me that we should give much more attention to the development of small-scale and cottage

industries.⁴ I say so not in any opposition to any plan of large-scale industry, because I believe in large-scale industry. But I am convinced that in India for a long time to come, there is a vast scope for the development of small-scale industries and cottage industries which do not come into conflict with large-scale industries. Further, if you really want a fairly rapid growth in our production, it can only come from the development of small-scale industries, because the large-scale industries—though very important—will take a long time to start producing, while the small-scale industry produces quickly and gives employment.

Now, in considering all these matters, we can consider them from the rather crude economic point of view; I mean to say, not considering other aspects of the problem. Or you may also consider them from, what I would call, the social aspect and the human aspect. The social and the human aspect concerns itself with employment and unemployment. If we are forced by circumstances we cannot, however much we may wish it, we cannot say that we are going to give employment to everybody or to a very large number of people at the present moment. We simply cannot do it, and let us be clear about it. Nevertheless, we have to keep this picture in view, and it is the State's duty to provide employment to all its people. It is not just enough to think in terms of producing goods and having schemes. How we produce them and how far it affects employment and unemployment, that was the human aspect that Mahatma Gandhi put forward, in support of his cottage industries programme.⁵ Now, that argument is in no way in opposition to the development of large-scale industries. So I think we have to pay far more attention to the development of small-scale industries and decentralized industries as well as cottage industries.

Now, in regard to large-scale industries also we have got into the habit of thinking of various industries and importing machinery from outside for them. We have to do it because we do not manufacture that machinery. There is no choice. Nevertheless the fact remains that we can have no real development till we manufacture our own machinery. And therefore, the most important thing becomes the development of the machine-making industry. Until we have the tool-making and machine-making industry, we are dependent upon others, whether they be dollars or sterlings or something else. So, while we must get machinery to begin with, the sooner we start making our own machinery here the better. Only then shall we be really independent.

4. A.C. Guha stressed the need to develop a decentralized economy as advocated by Mahatma Gandhi.
5. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in *Harijan* on 31 July 1937: "Literacy in itself is no education. I would, therefore, begin the child's education by teaching it a useful handicraft and enabling it to produce from the moment it begins its training." Mahatma Gandhi's All-India Village Industries Association in Wardha helped students to learn one or two crafts so that they could help in developing cottage industries in villages.

So I submit to the House that we should, for the present, pull ourselves in. We cannot live beyond our means, as we have perhaps been doing for the last few years. We were enthusiastic and we pursued a large number of schemes—very good schemes though—and now we find we cannot go ahead with them; in fact, we have to slow down tremendously. That slowing down, I hope, will not be for very long, and that, having reconsidered the problem, and having in other ways found resources to carry on that work, we shall go ahead with the essential schemes. But in going ahead, we should consider the over-all picture as to what we are going to do and what the basic essentials are that must be considered before we touch anything else. That will mean, perhaps the giving up of some things that may bring immediate convenience or comfort to us.

We concentrate on consumer goods. I have no objection, but I would rather not concentrate on consumer goods, but on capital development and suffer from lack of consumer goods for some years. This will lay a good foundation for the future growth of India. We are all agreed that India has tremendous potentialities, she has tremendous potential resources, mineral resources, underground resources, good soil, food etc.—there is no doubt about it in my mind. I think we are also strong in our potential human resources, some actual resources and some potential resources. I am not talking about numbers alone, that we have in abundance—but trained human material and human material which can easily be trained, given the opportunity. So it becomes very important to join those natural resources with the trained human beings.

We are apt to think too much—and again I speak with deference to the economic pundits—we are apt to think too much and to attach too much importance to money. I think if we think in terms of somethings which money represents and which is more important than money, we will be on safer ground. Of course, we cannot do away with money. It is nevertheless important. It is a very important element in our economy. Nevertheless, we must not become slaves to money. And if we proceed on these lines, and pull ourselves and economize in every way, and have a look round and lay down the objectives and the essentials that we have to do first—one of these will be the machine-making industry which will facilitate our industrialization—then I think we will go ahead pretty rapidly.

Now, some Members suggested—I believe the suggestion was made, though I am not quite clear if any Member in this House made it—that in regard to steps that may be taken in the near future, it would be advisable for Government and for the Finance Minister to confer with some Members of this House, that he may get ideas from them, and the Members of the House may get ideas from him, and that there will be a large measure of cooperation in thinking out this problem and in going ahead with it. Whatever we may decide upon, it is quite clear that when a country faces a big problem, it is not by Government decree alone that things can be done. There must be a great deal of cooperation of the public. Now, the

Members in this House are important not only as being Members of Parliament, but as links with the people in the country, and it is quite essential that the House should cooperate fully in all the steps that we may take.

I am sure my colleague, the Finance Minister, will welcome such cooperation. Many of the suggestions made by Members have actually been, I believe, accepted by Government and I am sure the Finance Minister has indicated the steps he is taking at the instance of the Members....⁶

Insofar as the implementation is concerned, it would be a great help to the Ministers if Honourable Members would keep in touch with the Ministers on this subject.

I suggest therefore that in viewing this particular situation, we should not at all feel depressed. We should think anew in big terms, because it is only when one is faced with difficult problems one is likely to think deeply. The time has come for us to do that first of all. But however deeply we may think we cannot suddenly plunge into big undertakings, because we have to economize now and over a good part of next year. At the same time the attempt at economy should not result in a kind of shrinking in our development plans. We cannot sacrifice tomorrow for the future because of today's difficulties. If we economize today, it is to go ahead much faster tomorrow. If we approach this problem in this way we might profit greatly by the lesson we are learning....⁷

I thought the Honourable Finance Minister told you that he intends reducing State expenditure this year by a considerable figure and by double that figure next year.

6. N.G. Ranga said that they were waiting to see their implementation.

7. Mahavir Tyagi enquired whether the Prime Minister envisaged any reduction in official expenditure.

4. Sacrifice for Progress¹

Sisters and Brothers,

Within a few hours I will be leaving Delhi on a long journey. Before I leave I would like to share with you certain important matters, nothing specific, but matters which have been troubling me. I am keen and happy to go to America, but I am hesitant to leave the country at this time. I have to fulfil a promise I made to visit

1. Broadcast to the Nation, on the eve of departure to the United States, New Delhi, 5 October 1949, A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L. (Original in Hindi).

America, but I cannot get away from the feeling that I am leaving the country at a juncture when it is faced with many problems. Even if I go far away my mind would remain engrossed with the problems facing us here.

In Parliament today, a debate was going on on the subject of devaluation, the question of dollar and rupee ratio. In that connection many questions were raised, and some speakers criticized the Government for its acts of omission.² Why did they criticize? May be their criticism is right. This makes me think as to how far I have succeeded in fulfilling the responsibility entrusted to me by the nation. Ultimately the responsibility is mine for whatever the Government does, whether that is done by me or not. This disturbing thought comes to my mind again and again, the thought that you have entrusted me with this great responsibility and high position with trust and love, and made me responsible for big tasks. How far have I been able to fulfil those tasks? I hoped, dreamt and talked about doing big things in this country. I had big plans for the country, but plans remained on paper and are yet to become a reality. These thoughts came to my mind when the debate was going on in Parliament, and I realized that we only talk big. I have also talked about big things to you and others. Will those talks ever become a reality? Will we ever see those plans implemented?

Devaluation has given us a rude shock and awakened us to the realization of the fact that we can no longer go on as we have been going on so far. We have therefore gained from devaluation. But the gain will be there only when we succeed in understanding its real meaning, and because of this try to understand the basic problems, rather than slip into inertia and not try to find a solution to these problems.

The problem of food shortage is a fundamental problem before our country. We had to import food in large quantities from abroad. We needed food and so we imported, that is all right, but then it was an easy way out. People thought that when we can import food then why should we try to do anything else? They continued to waste food and enjoy feasts. I do not think this was a correct approach. It would have been better if we had starved instead. I am not talking about the poor people, but I am convinced that if the well-to-do people get a little less than their requirements they will not starve. It is not right that the burden of food scarcity falls only on a few people. We have to change our life-style and lead a simpler life, cut down our food consumption and make an attempt to increase food production.

Will this debate on rupee and dollar ratio awaken us to a realization of the problems being faced by us? It has put us on the alert and has forced us to think about changing our habits. For the last two or three months I have been repeatedly

2. For example, A.C. Guha said that in the last two years, "the Government have given so many assurances, but I regret to say most of them have not been fulfilled"; N.G. Ranga asked "can the Honourable Minister say that sufficient steps have been taken to improve our own statistics on the agriculture front, on the food front not to speak of the other fronts...?"

laying stress on the food problem. I would like to thank the provinces and people everywhere for their cooperation and I am sure they will continue in their endeavour. It is a fact, and you will all agree, that we have been largely successful in tackling the food problem. But then this is no time to drift because, after all, food is the base on which our entire economy and planning are built. Our roots become weak when we do not have food in the country, and if we become dependent on other countries, in a sense, we lose our independence. People can live without other things but not without food. The food problem, therefore, is a fundamental problem before our country which has to be solved.

I told you that by the end of 1951, that is about two and a quarter years from now, we should try to become self-sufficient in food and stop all imports. I feel that this target date is too far and we should advance it by a year, that is, by the end of 1950. It is possible that we are unable to increase food productivity to the extent required, but in that situation we will have to sacrifice, regulate our consumption and change our food habits, because we cannot afford to remain dependent on other countries. In particular, I had singled out stopping of the import of rice, which will be the first big step forward. We must stop the import of rice. So far the price of wheat has been lower than that of rice. Maybe, now it is more. On the whole the price of wheat has declined in the world market, and may be the price of rice has also declined. In any case the price is on the higher side, and I find no reason why people should insist on their old habit of eating only rice and not substituting it by wheat or any other cereal. We cannot serve the country by adopting a soft attitude. We have to change our habits if that is the call of the country. If required, we will certainly import more wheat in lieu of rice. You should not take that also for granted as there is a long story behind that also. We have to stop it and for that we need your cooperation.

In this connection, I would like to tell you about our plan to import a specific type of fertilizer. We had to face many difficulties in importing 4 lakh tons of fertilizers which was more than enough for our requirement. We will not be able to import fertilizers in large quantities because of the high prices. It is better to invest that money in India and produce fertilizers in the country. We will have to import in small quantities, as there is no other way, but not in large quantities as planned earlier. In that case what shall we do? Obviously we are not going to sit tightly and watch the situation. It means that we have to produce more fertilizers and natural compost so that we can use them in our towns and villages. We must produce compost in larger quantities because compost is a better fertilizer. Unfortunately we have not given thought to this with the result that we have wasted compost. Now that we have made a beginning we have to take it up in right earnest.

In connection with higher production for food I would like to tell you something which you will be happy to hear. Our forces in Kashmir get transferred from time to time. One of the units, which is now in Assam, apart from performing their duties as *jawans*, in consultation with their officers, decided to help the Provincial

Government, in their free time, in increasing the food productivity. They have started farming on a 20,000 acre land, to begin with, and are determined to help in increasing the food productivity of Assam. For this work they had two tractors. They did not have other tools and implements, but they did not make that an excuse to sit back, nor did they send telegrams and letters demanding implements. If they had taken the approach of sick men they would not have been able to do anything. They improvised, used mules instead of bullocks, and made arrangements for ploughing. They will prepare the land completely by end of November and hope to raise a crop within two or three months. So you can see how any work can be undertaken. I would like our Army, apart from the fact that it is performing its tasks well, to help in the nation's tasks. That could be in agriculture, sanitation or anything. Whenever our soldiers visit their villages, they return after learning something, and so they can undertake the work of sanitation, teaching and many other vocations.

Tomorrow I am going to visit Pune. At Pune a very big academy is being established for the education and training of our forces.³ There men of the Army, the Air Force and the Navy will be trained. It is a big institution which will require huge financial investment, and from which there are a lot of expectations. Why are there expectations? First, obviously, because we want a good Army, Navy and Air Force. I hope that all those who join the Academy as officers and soldiers will not only receive training in defence but will also get good education which will prepare their minds, hearts and character. We propose to give them complete university education apart from conventional training imparted to the armed forces. And I am sure that the education imparted would inculcate in them the spirit of service to the nation.

What are the other problems which we are facing today? There are many questions but the basic question is that of growing more food. Please excuse me for repeating this again and again, but I am repeating this because this question is most important. We have to solve the problem of food and see that it is not wasted. It is criminal to waste food even in small quantities. We should produce more food. We should not waste food. And we should eat what is easily available and not ask for what is not available. And then there are other things like sugar, in which people have exploited the situation and profited, even though sugar is available in plenty. I am sure the sugar situation will also improve.

The food question is basic, but then what are the other questions? We want our country to progress. What type of progress? We want progress in all directions. Our food productivity should increase. Unfortunately, as I told you, the yield per acre is almost a quarter compared to other countries. This is not as per our requirements. We have to produce two to four times more, and remember that increased production in agriculture means increasing the wealth of the nation by two to four times. Our national wealth cannot increase, our status cannot improve

3. Nehru laid the foundation stone of the National Defence Academy on 6 October 1949.

unless we do not make progress in the agricultural sector. Wherever necessary we will use new machinery, tractors or even new ploughs. Our old ploughs are outdated. Well, tractors are expensive, but new and better ploughs are available which are inexpensive, costing about twenty to twenty-five rupees, and they are good. If we try, by sowing better quality seeds and taking adequate care, we can double our yield per acre, and help in increasing our national wealth. Not only will the farmers and agricultural workers profit but the nation as a whole will benefit by increased production.

What are the commodities in which we have to increase production? Apart from agriculture, we have to set up new industries so that we produce all those essential items for which we are dependent on imports. So far we are dependent on the import of certain items. We have to produce those things here. But what are those things? If we have to open factories, again we are dependent on machines which we have to import from abroad. Machines imported will definitely help in production here, factories will run, we will produce the commodities required—like cloth and other things. But the fact is that we have to import those machines and spare parts, and that is not the right thing. We must make necessary arrangements to produce the machines here in our own country. If we produce machines and tools we can make them as per our specifications and then we will be able to set up new industries to manufacture goods which are in demand. It is also important that you should buy only those goods which are produced in this country. Therefore, we must set up the machine-making industry first, rather than ordinary factories to produce common commodities of daily use. I have no objection to factories producing consumer goods. But when the country has limited resources in terms of money, we have to set our priorities and choose as to what are more important and basic requirements which require priority in expenditure.

We have now decided to exercise maximum economy in Governmental expenditure. In some cases we have either deferred or cancelled our programmes. We have immediately to arrest conditions of destabilization and drift in our economy. We will effect economy in expenditure, but economy does not mean that we put a stop to development and growth. We have, however, to exercise restraint in expenditure, plan and choose our priorities and decide which work we should take up first. How do we decide that? What is our plan? In which direction have we to move? What are our objectives? What are our aims? Only after making a plan can we decide on our priorities, as to what we should take up first, to be followed by second and third. It is not a simple decision of just setting up a factory here or there. If we take decisions like that we lose a lot of money. Important priorities go into the background while petty ones predominate.

We have to look at this problem in this perspective. We have to keep in mind the requirements of the whole country while deciding on priorities. What are our immediate requirements? First is the question of food. We have to see how much we produce, calculate our requirements, set up targets and take necessary steps.

Second is cloth. We have to set the targets of production as per demand. Third is the question of housing. We have to decide how many houses we have to build. Fourth, we have to make arrangements for education, health for which we have to open hospitals; start sanitation programme and many other things. We have to make a list of priorities as per their importance and choose which ones are more important than others. We must make an attempt in this direction.

Now in making a plan there may be divergence of views. I said that we must give top priority to machine-making industry because I think that is our basic requirement. It is possible that we do not make immediate profits because capital goods industry requires heavy investment. We do not make profits till the industry goes into operation, that is, machines are produced and then marketed. So there is a long gestation period; money is invested but it shows profits after a very long time. But they do make a profit, in the long run.

This means that for sometime we have to economize everywhere, we have to put a stop to unnecessary expenditure. We have to sacrifice for better days ahead. We have to lay the foundations for the future well-being of the country. At the same time, we have to provide for the demands of today, and we cannot forget that. But tomorrow and the future are more important than today. The future cannot be made bright and prosperous if we continue to provide for the immediate needs of today. What constitutes the future? It is the children and the youth of today. And we have to think about them, provide for them and make arrangements for their education. We have to increase production because only then the future of India will be bright and prosperous. We will fail to save today and will lose tomorrow if we continue to provide only for our selfish needs.

There is one more thing I would like to speak to you about. You are aware of criticisms made against traders and industrialists who have not paid any tax on incomes derived from profits made during the last War. In this connection a Commission was instituted two years ago to look into these cases, investigate and report. The Commission is doing and has done good work, steadily but silently. I would like to make it clear that it is not our intention to embarrass, harass or create difficulties unnecessarily for anyone. The fact of the matter is, and we have got into this vicious circle, that a sizeable section has not disclosed figures and facts about their War profits, earned rightly or illegally. It is not a question of any punishment being meted out to the offender. But unless this problem is solved neither the business community nor the country would benefit. So I call upon you to come forward to solve this problem amicably.

During the debate in Parliament today, Dr Matthai, our Finance Minister, among other things, announced Government's proposal to make necessary arrangements to assess untaxed War profits, which after necessary assessment can be paid in instalments. I hope there will be cooperation with the Government and you will come forward without any fear. This is an arrangement which will enable the business community to clear their position in an honest manner. This proposal is

without prejudice to the work of the Income Tax Investigation Commission. The Commission is investigating only into the cases forwarded to them. So it is not a case of duplication. I call upon businessmen to come forward and get their incomes assessed and lead an honest life in future. The country will get money to invest and that will help us tide over the present difficulties. I hope that this proposal will be understood and accepted and there will be no hesitation, out of fear, in coming forward. Otherwise neither businessmen will be able to function openly and successfully nor will the nation gain.

I have spoken to you about everything that came to my mind. The main question is as to how can we achieve a faster rate of growth, and how can India advance at a faster pace? I feel sad at the growth of unemployment and slow rate of progress. To some extent, I hold myself responsible for this. In any case, Government should own that responsibility. I, as the Prime Minister of India, how can I disown that responsibility? Anyhow, as far as I am concerned I will continue to make every effort but my strength alone will not take me far unless I receive in a full measure your help and support.

Well, tomorrow morning I shall leave Delhi. I will be in Pune for sometime due to some work and then proceed via Bombay to London, where I will reach a day after, and then I shall proceed to America. I will stay for four weeks in the United States, a few days in London, and I will be back after five weeks.

As I told you I feel both happy and hesitant about my forthcoming visit to the United States. This is because I carry a big responsibility. I am not going as an individual but as a representative of India. That is a big responsibility which makes me hesitant and nervous. But I know that I will be successful in my tour and accomplish the tasks assigned because I have the strength which you have given me by your love and your good wishes. *Jai Hind.*

THE ECONOMY

III. Industry

1. To Syama Prasad Mookerjee¹

New Delhi
September 22, 1949

My dear Syama Prasad,²

I feel that we are not paying enough attention to the modelling of small and cottage industries. Our thinking is too much tied up with the growth of big industry. Big industry should certainly grow and we should help it to grow, but any solution of the unemployment problem must take into consideration a fairly large-scale growth of small industry.

At the present moment, there is a tendency for some of the big industries to squeeze out the smaller ones, for instance, in steel and metals. Normally, we consult big industrialists and the small ones have little say in the matter. Some cases of this kind have been brought to my notice.

You have appointed a Cottage Industries Board.³ I do not know what results you have achieved. But the manufacture of some relatively fancy articles, though good in itself, does not take us far if the smaller and the cottage industries have to grow. They must be encouraged to make articles of widespread use, more especially in terms of the economic crisis of today. This should be kept in mind.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. He was Minister for Industry and Supply, 1947-50.

3. The All India Cottage Industries Board was set up in 1948 to advise and assist the Government in organizing and developing cottage and small-scale industry.

2. To Syama Prasad Mookerjee¹

New Delhi
September 30, 1949

My dear Syama Prasad,

As I shall be going away very soon, I am writing to you to find out how matters stand about the Machine Tools Factory² about which we have entered into an

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Hindustan Machine Tools, Bangalore.

agreement with Oerlikons in Switzerland. I do not know how this has been affected by proposed cuts in our expenditure. I am convinced that one of the basic needs for India, or for any country which wishes to industrialize itself, is a machine tool-making factory. Without that we are helpless and dependent upon others. The sooner we get going with this, the more we save money and push our industrial development. Therefore I do hope that this project is going to be kept on and indeed pushed ahead. Possibly we may have to slow down for a while, although in the long run even that may be uneconomical. But if circumstances compel us, we may slow down somewhat at present. I hope, therefore, that you will push ahead with this scheme to the best of your ability.

We have agreed to all kinds of cuts in our expenditure programme, because of the overriding necessity of the moment. But I just cannot imagine our carrying on in this ever-shrinking way for long. We have to find money and I am sure we shall be able to do so next year.

About the machine tool factory I understand that the site has not been finally chosen. This course is an essential preliminary to further progress. Oerlikons representative has, I am told, recommended Bangalore from the climatic point of view as well as the availability of steel and hydro-electric power. These are important considerations and Bangalore is a good central place. I hope you will finalize the selection of the site soon and inform the representative of Oerlikons (whom I have not myself met) that you intend to go ahead with this scheme, though perhaps somewhat slowly.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The first unit of the Hindustan Machine Tools was inaugurated by Nehru at Jalahalli, Bangalore on 5 October 1955.

3. To Syama Prasad Mookerjee¹

New Delhi
October 4, 1949

My dear Syama Prasad,

I am quite convinced that we cannot possibly carry on for long by continually retiring into our own shells and putting an end to our development activities.

1. File No. 17(116)/48-PMS.

For the present we must pull in. But this would be to prepare for a big step forward in future. I have not discussed this much in the last few days, but it must have been obvious to you that I was thinking in this direction. On my return from the United States, I hope to discuss this matter further.

I am rather alarmed to read in your letter that you intend to entrust the manufacture of penicillin to private enterprise and that you are considering some proposals of this kind.² I have no objection to private enterprise being given a chance if it so wants. But I am quite sure that a thing like penicillin, not only because of its intrinsic importance but also because of its many ramifications, should be a State concern. It would be a tragedy if we give up this scheme, which we have examined so thoroughly and set going. For the present we may slow down in this scheme, but it should in any event be carried on. I am sure we shall be in a better position a little later to give more funds for such schemes.

Your sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. B.C. Roy had proposed to Mookerjee to allow a private undertaking to manufacture penicillin with the support of a pharmaceutical company of the United States.

THE ECONOMY
IV. River Valley Development

1. River Valley Development¹

Whatever our present difficulties may be, we have to think always in terms of building up the India of tomorrow. We have to think of laying the foundations of wealth-producing activities, of works which add more land for cultivation, provide more power for industry, and generally lead to a higher standard of living. Increased production is essential, for that means more wealth in the country. But increased production can only take place if there is increased consumption, and consumption means the capacity to buy. That again means the raising of the standards of our people.

The great schemes of river valley development, and dams and reservoirs and irrigation channels and hydro-electric power, which are in various stages of development all over India, are the basic foundations for this future growth. Among these, one of the most important is the Bhakra Dam Scheme and the Nangal Hydel Canal. It is fascinating to see these great schemes take shape and grow before our eyes.

But because of the magnitude of the schemes and the great expectations that are tied up with them, it is essential that the greatest care should be exercised in building them up. We must have the best and nothing else is good enough. Also it is very necessary that a project of this kind should not be looked upon merely as that of building a dam and producing hydro-electric power. That power has to be used as soon as it is available. If we have the power and cannot use it for sometime, that is waste and it indicates a lack of proper planning. The scheme must be thought of as a whole so that as power is produced it is immediately used for industry, as water is available it should be forthwith used for irrigation. The latter is perhaps easy enough, but industrial growth takes some time and has, therefore, to be thought of previously and not left to chance.

Those who are responsible for these great projects must have enthusiasm and a crusading spirit. They are the builders of the India of tomorrow and a high responsibility attaches to them. It is in this spirit of service that they must undertake this work and complete it.

1. Foreword to a report on the Bhakra Nangal Project, 14 September 1949. File No. 17(59)/48-PMS.

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE

I. Production, Prices and Controls

1. To R.K. Patil¹

New Delhi
August 16, 1949

My dear Patil,²

You told me that you were issuing instructions about food crops being grown in boxes. I have mentioned this matter in my fortnightly letter to the Premiers and have also said something about it in my 'broadcast'.³ I hope you have got your instructions ready. There is a considerable psychological value in this kind of thing. I should like to start some boxes like this in my own house.

In Russia the sunflower is grown for food purposes. Sunflower seeds are a favourite form of food. In addition, I am told that a very good edible oil is extracted from the sunflower. Could we not encourage this here?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31(71)/49-PMS.
2. Commissioner for Food Production, Government of India, 1949-52.
3. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 12, pp. 74, 320-321.

2. To R.K. Patil¹

New Delhi
August 22, 1949

My dear Patil,

I am told that you are meeting Shri Golwalkar, the leader of the R.S.S. and that it has been announced that you have invited the R.S.S. to cooperate in the food campaign and give volunteers for it. We want everybody's cooperation in the business. But we have to be very careful how to associate ourselves with the R.S.S. Any close association in this may be exploited for a wrong purpose and party politics may come into play.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

3. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi
September 12, 1949

My dear Jairamdas,²

Thank you for your letter of the 10th September sending me the views of provincial governments regarding reduction in foodgrain prices. I am impressed by the arguments and I think that any attempt to reduce procurement prices is not only likely to affect procurement but shake up the biggest class in the country on whose stability we rely. The talk of reducing prices of commodities will not go very far. It may be possible, however, to equalize prices to some extent.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31(74)/49-PMS.
2. He was Minister for Food and Agriculture at this time.

4. To Mira Ben¹

New Delhi
September 16, 1949

My dear Mira,²

Thank you for your letter which I got some time ago.

I think we are making some progress on the food front, although it is not as much as I should have liked. Regarding controls, I feel that it is not possible for us to remove them. The risks are too great. We cannot trust our merchant class or other classes who have, in the past, seized every opportunity to profiteer. I can understand your distress at the way things are working out. To some extent, I share it myself.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Mira Ben (Madeleine Slade), daughter of a British Admiral, who as a follower of Mahatma Gandhi courted arrest in 1942 and did constructive work for several years after independence in hill areas of Uttar Pradesh.

5. To R.K. Patil¹

New Delhi
October 1, 1949

My dear Patil,

It is worthwhile investigating the possibilities of growing soya bean. One advantage of soya bean is that it enriches the soil.

I understand that the Bangalore Institute of Science² is making some kind of milk out of soya bean and giving it to children successfully.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31(43)/49-PMS.

2. The Institute of Science had been set up at Bangalore in 1911 by Dorabji Tata and Ratanji Tata with the support of the Government of India and the Maharaja of Mysore.

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE

II. Food Import Programme

1. Devaluation and Food¹

In view of the devaluation of the pound sterling and the rupee in terms of the dollar, our food import programme will have to be carefully revised. We have to avoid, as far as possible, imports from the dollar or hard currency areas. I hope your Ministry will go into this matter and report to the Cabinet.

So far as rice is concerned, as I have previously suggested to you, we should stop its import in future, except insofar as actual commitments had been made.

In regard to wheat, a considerable quantity was obtained from the United States and other hard currency areas. We should try to shift that to the sterling area. It is possible, of course, and indeed probable, that the price of wheat in America might go down considerably, both because of the abundant harvest there and the devaluation of the sterling etc. If that is so, we can always consider if it is profitable and worthwhile for us to obtain wheat from America. As you know, I shall be going to the United States early next month and presumably there will be talks there covering, among other subjects, the question of import of foodstuffs to India. We might await the result of these talks. It may even be possible, in view of the surplus of wheat in the United States, for us to get it at very reasonable rates or on a deferred payment system.

As further rice is not likely to be imported the quantity of rice available will have to be carefully allotted to various provinces. In this allotment, certain areas, which are more or less wheat-eating areas, need not be given rice, or given very little rice for special cases. This will enable a little more rice to be given to the rice-eating areas. Even in the rice-eating areas there is plenty of scope for increasing wheat consumption, for instance in Calcutta and even in Madras.

The campaign for using subsidiary foods must necessarily continue with vigour. But the only way to encourage this is to include some of these subsidiaries in the rations.

I was told in East Punjab that the harvest was a good one and they hoped to cover their deficit completely.

1. Note to the Minister for Food and Agriculture, 21 September 1949. File No. 31(2)/47-PMS.

2. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi
October 3, 1949

My dear Jairamdas,

Your letter of 3rd October about rice imports. I have rather hurriedly gone through the papers in the file and read the Secretary's note.² I can understand the desire of the Secretary to avoid taking risks in this matter. Nevertheless I think risks should be taken. We should make a very definite attempt to replace rice with wheat or other grains to some extent. This does not mean reducing the ration, but replacing it with other grains.

I cannot go into exact figures, as I have not got the detailed knowledge which the officials of your Ministry possess. I can therefore only proceed to consider this question rather generally. I know the danger of considering any subject in this way. But any major error in calculation on my part can be corrected by you. What I wish to lay stress on is the approach to the question.

I would stop all rice imports completely and absolutely and take risks attendant on this. These imports should be replaced by wheat imports if necessary. Naturally this has to be done in an organized way and the ground prepared for it by adequate propaganda. I do not see why we should get frightened by the fact that people do not easily change their food habits. Circumstances are such that they must change them and I feel that if a proper approach is made, they will largely change them to the advantage of their health also. Too much rice eating is not to be commended from the health point of view.

I was told that in Delhi and elsewhere rice is being saved as a result of our appeal. With sufficient propaganda the saving can be very considerable all over India. Secondly, the crops are on the whole good. Thirdly, it is the non-rice-eating areas that should be deprived of rice. The question of change of food habits there is not an important one. Fourthly, I understand that in Bengal the full ration allowed recently, that is 12 ozs., has not been wholly consumed. In some parts it has been left over. That means we can afford some economy there. As a concession to the fears expressed in your Secretary's note, I would agree to importing a maximum

1. File No. 31(2)/47-PMS.

2. Outlining the demand for an allocation of 9,34,000 tons of rice for the deficit provinces and the States, Jairamdas stated that the quantity of rice available from the surplus provinces to meet the deficit for fulfilling the rationing commitments was 4,46,000 tons only, which still left a net deficit of 4,88,000 tons. The Secretary according to him viewed the proposal for further reduction in import of rice for 1950 likely to cause a breakdown in rationing and result in disorderly situation. He had therefore asked for a revision of the food import requirements on the basis of (a) no imports and (b) a very little quantity of rice imports, say one lakh tons.

of 1,00,000 tons of rice. This should be kept as a reserve in case of extreme need and should not be distributed to begin with.

When speaking to Dr Roy, I mentioned that we would supply no more rice, but we could supply more wheat. He generally agreed with this. This of course referred to his present demand and I cannot say what his final answer might be.

It is highly probable that if we make it known that we are just not going to import rice, prices in South East Asia will fall considerably. We should allow them to fall. If they reach the wheat level or below, we might then import more rice instead of wheat.

I think that we must take this risk in regard to rice and I believe that the country would be prepared for it if only we set about it in right earnest and tell them what we are doing and what we expect them to do. If certain pinch is felt here and there, we need not be afraid. Provided always that we supply some substitutes.

I am told that even in Delhi only about 80 per cent of the rations are consumed. Presumably that also shows that we are supplying a little more than is needed.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE
III. The Sugar Crisis

1. To Jairamdas Doulatram¹

New Delhi
August 26, 1949

My dear Jairamdas,

I have seen a copy of a telegram² sent yesterday by you to various provincial Governments on the sugar position. In this a number of proposals have been made and it appears that the matter will be considered by the Economic Committee tomorrow.

It seems odd to me how we are hustled and harried into sudden decisions by the turn events take. As a Government we seem to be powerless to foresee or to control what happens. When that has happened, then we rush about trying to repair the damage done. Our economy generally appears to be pursuing an independent and rather mad course. How far this is the result of deliberate effort on the part of vested interests or the result of natural events, I do not know. But I dislike the way we are functioning as a Government in regard to economic matters. There is no attempt to plan or look ahead or foresee what might happen and take steps in time.

You have sent a long telegram to provincial Governments making important proposals and giving them a little more than one day to reply. This in itself is evidence of our acting in hurry without even time for any proper consultation. These proposals of yours are important and may have far-reaching results. I do not wish to express any opinion about them. But the import of 50,000 tons of sugar from abroad at a cost of Rs. 3 crores in foreign exchange is something that gives one an initial shock.

Another thing that surprises me is that these big decisions are taken without any reference to the Cabinet or to me even. It is true that you are placing the matter before the Economic Committee and that is right. But that is not enough in regard to vital questions of policy.

Will you please prepare a full note for the Cabinet on this subject of sugar?

Only a short while ago we were discussing that sugarcane cultivation should be restricted because there was glut of sugar. Now we go to the other extreme. In the same way there was a lack of cloth at one time and then an excess of it. Probably a little later there will again be a lack of it and prices will tend to shoot up. The whole thing is fantastic.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31(77)/49-PMS.

2. Jairamdas had urged the provincial Governments to reimpose control on sugar and to seize the stocks with a view to bringing down the price of sugar. He also requested that they suggest other measures to tackle the sugar crisis.

2. Sugar and Blackmarketeers¹

I have received a note from your Ministry asking me to impress upon provincial Premiers the overall shortage of sugar etc.² I shall do so. But I must say that the recent ups and downs in sugar have created a very bad impression in the public mind. Here in the Capital itself sugar is available only to the stouthearted and those who can wait in long queues. But anyone can buy sugar in a black market by paying a much bigger price. I cannot understand why all our arrangements should collapse in this way and why a Government should be powerless before the blackmarketeer in a commodity like sugar which we can easily control from beginning to end. The credit of Government has suffered enormously. It is openly said that either we are thoroughly incompetent or we just do not mean what we say. If we fail in sugar, then obviously we cannot succeed in other commodities which are much more difficult to control. If there is any lacuna in the law, it should be remedied. In any event it is no good at all for the Food Ministry to issue long explanations or even criticisms of provincial Governments, when where the charge is its direct one, it can do nothing effective. I have repeatedly referred this matter to the Food Ministry without any effective result. I have spoken to the Chief Commissioner of Delhi and he confesses himself beaten.

This is an extraordinary state of affairs for an independent Government, which does little credit to all of us. There must be a way out of this impasse and if new laws have to be framed, steps should be taken to that end. In any event the Food Ministry cannot remain a passive spectator.

It is said in the note sent to me that I should ask the provincial Premiers to obtain the cooperation of the trade in the distribution of the supplies. Certainly this should be done. But we have had enough of appeals all round and reliance on the *bona fides* of the trade, with little or no result. We have to deal with unscrupulous persons whose chief object in life is to profit regardless of the needs of the community.

Only a few months back there was a great deal of talk of a surplus of sugar and of finding foreign markets. Suddenly the position is reversed and we are told

1. Note to the Minister for Food and Agriculture, 29 September 1949. File No. 31(77)/49-PMS.
2. After discussing the sugar situation with the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, the Economic Committee, meeting on 27 August, desired the provincial Governments to be consulted on the steps proposed to be taken on the movement of sugar.

that the background of the present situation is a lack of sugar. This indicates that our statistics or our planning machinery are either non-existent or wrong. What steps are being taken to improve these deficiencies? In this as in other matters a country has to plan ahead and not be caught repeatedly in traps made by private profiteers and those who wish to corner essential commodities. Sugar, in some ways, has become an acid test for us.

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE

IV. Agrarian Reforms

1. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi
August 26, 1949

My dear Sachar,²

I enclose a representation which I have received from a deputation of peasants from East Punjab. This matter is, no doubt, before you. Without knowing much about the details of it I have written to you on more than one occasion drawing your attention to the danger of allowing ejectments to be carried on. The Congress policy generally is, as you know, of the abolition of the zamindari system, that is, generally speaking, of the removal of intermediaries between the State and the cultivator. This policy is being given effect to on a big scale in the United Provinces, Bihar and Madras.

I have a feeling that there is not sufficient realization in East Punjab of the tremendous agrarian revolution that is taking place in many parts of Asia. That is perhaps the basic problem of Asia today. If we do not deal with our agrarian problem with speed, we might well be overwhelmed by events.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. He was Chief Minister, East Panjab, 1949.

2. Abolition of the Zamindari System¹

More than thirty years ago I began my wanderings in the rural areas of the United Provinces and came in touch with the stout peasantry of that province of mine. We became close comrades in the ups and downs of the struggle to better their lot. We came to the conclusion that it was essential for the zamindari system to go to lay the foundation of the future progress of the peasantry as well as of the country. The U.P. Congress made this its plank and later the All India Congress adopted it. It became part of our pledges to our people.

I rejoice that that pledge is now near fulfilment and that the U.P. Government has brought forward and is considering the Zamindari Abolition and Land Reform

1. Message on the eve of the inauguration of the Zamindari Abolition Fund, 30 September 1949. From *The Hindustan Times*, 3 October 1949.

Bill.² I congratulate them on this and I congratulate the peasantry of the United Provinces on the coming success of their long endeavour. That success will come in the speediest way, if the peasantry pay the money asked of them soon and thus immediately acquire rights in the land and end the zamindari system. I earnestly hope that they will do so and thus give a lead to India.

2. The Zamindari Abolition and Land Reform Bill (U.P.), 1949 was introduced in the U.P. Assembly on 7 July 1949, and passed in January 1951.

REFUGEES AND REHABILITATION

I. Refugees from East Bengal

1. Refugees from East Bengal¹

I wanted to meet the refugees from East Bengal. You have given me many a memoranda, each being a version of the state of affairs in the various camps. There is no time to go into details now. So I would like to discuss with you the broad outlines and explain to you the Government's policies, schemes, achievements and hopes.

There seems to be some misunderstanding among East Bengal refugees in regard to the policy of the Government of India towards Bengali refugees. At no time have the Government of India made any distinction between refugees from East and West Pakistan. The fact is that complete migration of minorities had taken place from West Pakistan, while in East Pakistan large number of Hindus still remain. The Government did not want large-scale migration from East Pakistan because that would have led to terrible misery and we wanted to avoid it. So, even though we wanted to help, we did not want to do anything that would encourage migration.

Nearly all over the world the refugee problem exists in more or less very acute form.

I also want to remind you of Gandhiji's principle: "No work, No relief". This is not so much to save money as to avoid an unfavourable psychological reaction amongst the sufferers. No country, not even the richest, can continue to bear such a burden without new sources of income. All money comes from Indian pockets. We have not taken any foreign aid. New production for the supply of necessities of life is the need of the day.

Most of my time in Delhi is taken up in trying to speed up implementation of rehabilitation schemes and meeting the refugees. I have now recommended to the provincial Governments to form autonomous boards with the necessary powers and authority to go ahead. I think that finance should also be placed at their disposal. Even though the provincial Governments are very hesitant to part with their powers, they have accepted my suggestion. I want to tell you that it has been decided to hand over the education of refugee children to the Talimi Sangh, and efforts are being made to decentralize the educational system which will be in charge of experienced and tried workers.

Q: Is it possible for the Central Government to take over the work of refugee rehabilitation?

JN: If the machinery of the provincial Governments is slow the Central Government

1. Talk with the representatives of the refugees from East Bengal, New Delhi, 30 August 1949. From the *National Herald*, 1 September 1949.

will be slower because it has to function from a distance. It will not also be a good policy to allow the provincial Governments to become completely irresponsible, and so the autonomous boards of rehabilitation have been brought in. The Centre has taken full responsibility to finance rehabilitation activity.

Q: India's Deputy High Commissioner in Dacca² refused to take an interest in the minorities' difficulties in East Bengal on the ground that it is not his responsibility. What do you have to say about this?

JN: In the interest of the minorities themselves, the Deputy High Commissioner cannot represent them. If he starts doing so, all of them will be looked upon as citizens of a foreign country and Pakistan will do the same in India. How will you like that? It is against diplomatic conventions to do this. I understand that minority boards have been set up by the East Pakistan authorities to attend to their grievances.

2. S.K. Basu.

REFUGEES AND REHABILITATION

II. The Evacuee Property

1. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi
September 8, 1949

My dear Mohanlal,²

Repeatedly I have written to you about this business of sealing shops and properties of so-called evacuees. The other day³ we held a small conference when I pointed out to you the serious consequences of what was happening. My Secretariat is continually drawing attention of your Ministry to this business. I have also written to Gopalaswami Ayyangar on the subject.

I fear that I have created little impression upon you or upon the Custodian's organization. Sometime back certain assurances were given to me. Certain assurances were given by you to Maulana Azad also about sealing of shops. From the information I receive from day to day I find that these assurances have not been kept and a policy is being pursued which I consider not only improper and immoral but harmful to national interests.

I understand that shops are now being sealed in Chandni Chowk. Previously they were sealed in the Sadar Bazaar. That a printed notice has been issued to various shop-keepers and this is rapidly followed by the sealing without even waiting for an answer.⁴ I am getting information from various parts of the country about the extraordinary way in which Custodians are behaving in the U.P., C.P., and Patna. I am told that in Agra a large part of the Shoe Bazaar has been sealed.⁵ In Moradabad, a report has reached me that crowds accompany the Custodian and there are loud cries of *Jai* when each shop is sealed.

In *The Statesman* of September 2nd, the instructions issued by the U.P. Custodian⁶ to the District Magistrates are given.⁷ It is stated that "this is a task in which no time can be lost." Further that where doubt exists in respect to any property it would be wise to include it in the list rather than to exclude it by giving the benefit of the doubt. There are other instructions also which appear to me to be extraordinary. This is neither law nor good morality.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. He was Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation at this time.

3. On 29 August 1949.

4. In Delhi.

5. On 30 August 1949 the Custodian of Evacuee Property took over 400 shops and firms in Agra Shoe Market.

6. R.P. Verma.

7. Under the U.P. Administration of Evacuee Property Ordinance, 1949, the Custodian stressed the need to expedite the work of acquiring evacuee property. The Ordinance called for taking help from "outside agencies in tracing evacuee property" and the evidence supplied by outsiders was taken up seriously because "giving the benefit of the doubt to the owners, reported to be evacuees, would not accord well with the spirit of the ordinance." Other instructions related to the transfer of properties to displaced persons from Pakistan.

I am exceedingly concerned with this as the action being taken now is undoing a great deal of the patient work that we have done during the past two years and there is no doubt in my mind that there is a state of panic in a large number of Muslims in Delhi, the U.P., etc.⁸ You told me that there are a few agitators who shout about this matter. I disagree with you entirely.

This, I repeat, is a matter of extreme importance and I feel that it must be decided at the highest level and not left to the sweet will of the Custodians and the rest. In fact, it is a matter which may well lead to a Cabinet crisis. Certainly, so far as I am concerned, I am not going to be responsible for a policy which I consider thoroughly wrong.

I propose to put this entire matter at a full Cabinet meeting as early as possible. Meanwhile I shall ask you to issue instructions immediately to your Custodian General and to other Custodians here in Delhi or in the provinces to stop this process of sealing till further instructions are given.

This is to be treated as an urgent matter. I shall let you know when the full Cabinet will consider this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. Muslim organizations like the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind protested against the injustice and harshness perpetrated by the custodians and their officials by declaring properties of Muslims as of "intending" evacuees and later taking possession of them.

2. The Sealing of Shops of Muslims¹

... It is important that justice should be done; it is even more important that the people concerned should believe that justice has been done. This applies to the adjudication of individual rights, which are supposed to be guaranteed under our Constitution. But what is of vital importance is the effect of any action taken on the larger issues before the country. It seems clear that the action taken in recent

1. Note to the Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation, 9 September 1949. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

weeks on behalf of the Rehabilitation Ministry and chiefly by the various Custodians, has had a markedly unfortunate effect on a number of national problems. This effect may have far-reaching consequences, unless it is checked in time. It was for this reason that I wrote to H.M. Rehabilitation yesterday² that all sealing of shops and other premises must be stopped immediately not only in Delhi but elsewhere in the country, pending further examination, if necessary by the Cabinet.

In certain other matters too, such as permits etc., I find that the attitude taken by the officers concerned is more or less a routine attitude and little effort is made in enquiring into the human problems involved.

A citizen of India, whether he is Muslim or non-Muslim, is presumed to have certain rights and these rights cannot be set aside lightly or without positive proof. The line of approach in most of the papers that I have seen is that any Muslim in India may be suspect, if he or any relative of his has had the slightest contact with Pakistan. As such suspect, it is desirable to take swift action against him before he has had time to take advantage of any delay. Therefore, action has to be speedy, even though it may not be wholly justified. This appears to me to be a wrong approach entirely. It must be remembered that our policy is of equal justice to all our citizens. It must also be remembered that over thirty millions of Muslims live in India.

There are many elements in the population who are animated by extreme bitterness and hostility towards Muslims. There are many people who for reasons of cupidity and self-interest want to push out Muslims from their shops and houses so that they might profit by this. It is incumbent on all Government officials and others concerned to prevent these anti-social and anti-national elements from having their way or being encouraged. It is incumbent on every person in authority to see that the high prestige of our Government does not suffer by any intrusion of bigotry, prejudice or communal feeling.

From the strictly practical point of view, it is obvious that the main offenders have escaped and have taken or transferred large sums of money. At the most some petty offenders remain, who make little difference either way from the financial point of view. I see cases against petty folk—tailors, shoe-makers, petty shopkeepers, which have little importance in themselves from any point of view, but which have a great deal of importance when they become examples and symbols of the policy that is being followed. The State benefits little, but the State is injured greatly, if a feeling spreads that justice is not being done. There is no doubt that that feeling is a widespread feeling today among large numbers of our Muslim fellow-countrymen. Any policy that tends to produce or encourage this feeling is an injurious policy and is a failure. It does not matter very much if a few persons who may be guilty escape. It does matter very much indeed if a single innocent person is made to suffer, because that individual case affects large numbers of other persons.

2. See the preceding item.

The Ordinance³ is worded in a way which is capable of wide interpretation. I am rather sorry for this. I suppose this was made to cover any special case which might otherwise escape. But this casts a very special responsibility upon us to be doubly careful that the Ordinance is not abused or misused. The strictest canons of proof should be applied and the principle of law that a person is innocent till he is proved guilty, must be followed.

I remember that sometime ago the practice followed was to seal shops without even any intimation being given to the party concerned. This was done because there was an apprehension that the man may run away with books, papers or goods. This was an extraordinary procedure, which could not be justified by any canon of law or equity. It was easily possible to deal with the books or papers even without sealing the shop. But whether it was possible or not, nothing can justify a procedure which is completely wrong and unjust. Since then this practice has not been followed and it appears that the person concerned is given some kind of a notice and is asked to be present. That notice is very often far too short.

Reference is made to certain assurances having not been given. I cannot quote any precise assurance to me, though I understand that Maulana Azad was certainly given to understand that certain assurances had been given. But apart from any precise assurance, I was certainly assured that a wiser, more tolerant and more generous policy will be pursued. I find from subsequent events that the policy has not changed materially and the notes submitted to me by various officers are themselves evidence of a completely wrong approach to this problem. If there is this wrong approach to begin with, then it is not surprising that smaller officers of the Custodian's department go even further in their interpretation of the instructions given to them. This is evident enough in the instructions issued in the U.P. and in the action that followed in various parts of the U.P.

I should like those who are in responsible positions to realize that all these matters are intimately connected with vital national problems and cannot be considered in isolation. In the matter of appeals it appears that the final decision usually rests with the Custodian. This also casts a very special responsibility upon those who judge and decide.

I stated in my yesterday's letter to H.M. Rehabilitation that this entire matter and the approach today must be considered fully again, if necessary by the Cabinet. Meanwhile all sealing of shops, whether in Delhi or any part of the country, must be stopped. I hope that instructions have been issued to this effect to the Custodians

3. The Government of India, by an Ordinance promulgated on 18 June, declared the properties of the persons who had migrated to Pakistan to be evacuee property which were to be identified and taken possession of by the Custodian. Whether the Ordinance covered those who were "intending" to leave, or those who left but were to come back, or those who had sent their families to Pakistan but had stayed back to manage or sell their properties, were issues on which there was debate and controversy.

in every province. We cannot afford to allow the present position to drift, till it is too late to check the harm that has already been done. I trust these instructions have been issued.

3. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi

September 10, 1949

My dear Mohanlal,

Thank you for your letter, which I received about mid-day today. I have been all day in the Assembly and could not reply to you earlier. Even now this is rather a brief reply.

I suppose you know me well enough to realize that the personal equation does not interfere very much with my impersonal reactions to events and things. I do not very much care what happens to me. If something that I care for goes wrong, in the ultimate analysis, it is not important where I am and where you are. We can make ourselves useful somewhere or other. But it is important that any ideal and objective that we aim at should not suffer grievously. In this particular matter there is at least one colleague of ours, whom I respect and value and who is very greatly affected. He is Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Where any question relating to Muslims is concerned, his opinion cannot be ignored. He is almost the last symbol of a generation of Muslims who have throughout fought for Indian freedom and certain objectives which we held in common. I may agree with him or disagree about other matters, but in this particular matter, his opinion is more important than mine. It would be a tragedy, if he is broken up not merely by events but our own actions and decisions. That action is not an individual matter. He is a symbol to vast numbers of Muslims in India and abroad and his collapse would have a powerful effect on the whole situation and far-reaching consequences will follow. We deal and we have been dealing in the past two years with problems of tremendous psychological importance. People of little wit and no vision think of them in petty terms of rupees, annas and pies or of retaliation and the like, forgetting that we might thus be undermining our whole future and shattering such reputation as we may still have.

Personally I care little for what happens to me, but I do care a great deal for

1. J.N. Collection.

what I have stood for throughout my life. I have repeatedly failed and made a mess of things, but I hope I have not forgotten the major ideals which Gandhiji taught us. As I see things happenings in India, in the Constituent Assembly, in the Congress, among young men and women, which take us away step by step from those ideals, unhappiness seizes me. Gandhiji's face comes up before me, gentle but reproachable. His words ring in my ears. Sometimes I read his writings and how he asked us to stick to this or that to the death, whatever others said or did. And yet those very things we were asked to stick to slip away from our grasp. Is that to be the end of our lives' labour? I have been upset about many things, but these recent developments in regard to Muslims, evacuees or others, have come as a great shock to me. One can examine individual cases and say something for or something against. But what is important is the whole trend and the whole approach and the whole way of looking at things and doing them. The instructions issued in the U.P., regarding sealing of property, were so astonishingly bad that I cannot conceive of any person with commonsense having issued them. Who did it and under whose authority? This is a matter that must be enquired into. Pantji² tells me that he was himself rather shocked. Well then, who does things which have these evil consequences? This is no small matter and the man who is responsible for this has no place, where these tendencies of his have full play. For days and days I had been receiving complaints of what has been happening in the U.P. I did not believe them or I thought that they were exaggerated. Suddenly I see these U.P. instructions and every complaint gets full justification.

I refer individual matters to your Ministry, or someone in my office does so, and the replies I receive are very proper and very official. And yet I find them completely devoid of any understanding or human approach to the problem. The other day the case of some man, whose temporary permit had expired, was referred to your office. His wife and children and I think parents had never left Delhi. The reply came and it was a reply which might have dealt with any piece of goods and not with human beings facing difficult human problems. The man is on the point of being forcibly sent away from Delhi, where his wife and family live. The matter then went up to Gopalaswami Ayyangar and he wrote to you, I think, pointing out that the case had hardly been considered on the merits. I do not know what has happened to this man. But there is obviously something very wrong about the disposal of such matters in this casual and bureaucratic way.

There must be hard cases and there must be injustice occasionally. None of us can prevent that. But there is a way of dealing with things which on the whole prevents hard cases and there is a way of dealing which increases them and which creates an impression in the minds of people affected that justice is not done.

We seem to have lost all sense of proportion in our hunt for petty shops and little bits of property. Let us by all means punish those who seek too much profit

2. Govind Ballabh Pant, Chief Minister of the United Provinces at this time.

and have a foot in each camp. But let us remember that it is very hard for those whose families have been split up.

I read a judgement yesterday of an Assistant Custodian which stuck me as being totally inadequate.³ The idea that these matters affecting big or small property should be finally decided in the Custodian's office with no appeal to civil courts shocks me as a lawyer and as a politician. We have thought about judicial and executive functions being separated. Here we have a supreme example of the administrative apparatus itself being the judge. There are many points which trouble me and they can be considered separately. But I am quite clear in my mind that this approach of the Custodian's department here or elsewhere has to be changed completely, if disaster is to be avoided. All of us seem to be getting infected with the refugee mentality or worse still, the R.S.S. mentality. That is a curious finale to our careers.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. On 6 September 1949, a Deputy Custodian of Evacuee Property decided that an applicant who claimed his property in Delhi had in fact come to India via Dhaka and had taken possession of his property and was arranging to dispose it of. He said such people were cheating the Indian Government and that the "ordinance regarding evacuee property should be implemented in full and property of such people should be taken over" and "permits" to return to India should not be given to those whose "loyalty was doubtful".

4. To Mohanlal Saksena¹

New Delhi
September 13, 1949

My dear Mohanlal,

I have seen the papers sent to me with reference to the publication of a document in *The Statesman* of 2nd September, 1949. This document was supposed to contain the instructions issued by the Custodian of Evacuee Property in the United Provinces to his Deputy Custodians.

I am glad to find that the report in *The Statesman* was not correct. That report has done a great deal of damage and it should be corrected and enough publicity should be given to the correction.

In the statement of R.P. Verma, the U.P. Custodian, dated 12th September, which you have sent me, there is a sentence: "Lists are merely preparatory lists. After the lists are prepared, a review is to be made by the Deputy Custodians and if it appears to them that any property has wrongly been included, it will be released by them at once." Why this word "released"? This means that some kind of possession has been taken. Otherwise, the words should have been that it should be struck off from the list. This should be cleared up.

Again in the circular of the U.P. Custodian dated July 19th, while something has been said to the effect that great care should be exercised in taking possession of evacuee property, I think more specific instructions might have been better. In a previous circular dated August 11th, paragraph 7, the Custodian said that "he wished to emphasize that in tracing out evacuee property the cooperation of outside agencies, particularly of the displaced persons, should be invited and availed of." It goes on to say that "if the information appears to be correct to you, you should not insist on evidence admissible under the Indian Evidence Act, nor is an insistence on legal proof desirable."

It seems to me that this is a very dangerous principle to lay down. Firstly, it is an open invitation to interested parties and groups which is a bad thing. It is true that such information may occasionally come and should be considered fully. But information received from interested parties should always be subjected to heavy discount. Displaced persons are not objected and indeed it is difficult for me to understand how a displaced person can be in a position to give reliable information. He is an outsider. He can neither give information about what is supposed to have happened in Pakistan nor about the new place he has gone to. He may himself have got some second-hand or third-hand information. This is not good enough. In fact, the evidence of displaced persons is the least important in this connection. This action to invite outside agencies is to invite organizations like the R.S.S. That again is a dangerous step. The Custodian, far from inviting all this information, should view any such information received with a certain disinclination.

While there is no harm in making any preliminary list, even that list should be based on some *prima facie* information. As for any action to be taken, that should always be taken after considerable enquiry in which the party concerned is given full opportunity. That action again should normally be a demand of some security or other while a fuller investigation is taking place.

However, I need not write much to you in this connection as I have sent a number of papers through Dharma Vira² to your office in which many points have been made. I should like your office and you personally to go into this matter carefully. If necessary, you might even issue an amending ordinance. Meanwhile, clear and decisive instructions should be issued to all Custodians etc.

2. He was Joint Secretary to the Cabinet at this time.

I am enclosing a telegram and a letter which Maulana Abul Kalam Azad has given to me, (these are from Saharanpur and Bareilly), so that you may enquire into this matter if you have not already done so.

I wanted to meet the U.P. Custodian, who, I understand, is in Delhi, but unfortunately I have not been able to do so yet.

I suggested to you yesterday to see Maulana Azad. I hope you will do so soon and discuss this whole matter with him. Indeed, I should like you to keep in touch with him. In future, whenever a meeting of the Rehabilitation Committee is held, Maulana Azad should be invited.

You told me that instructions have been issued to stop the sealing of shops etc. for the present. I hope this has been done in all the provinces.

The main point to remember is this that we are out not to punish small folk, but to prevent any large-scale transfers of property, etc. Most of these large-scale transfers have unfortunately already taken place. What remains is usually of small account. If there is absolute and definite proof of mischief, we must take action. But that action must be based on very good proof. In fact, if there is doubt, the doubt should be resolved in favour of the person accused. The consequences of all the action we are taking are far-reaching in many ways and these are more important than the possession of an odd shop or house.

Your file is returned.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

P.S. I have just seen Verma. He says he has not received any instructions about stopping of this sealing.

REFUGEES AND REHABILITATION

III. Nilokheri Scheme, Work Centres and Conscription

1. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi

August 18, 1949

My dear Matthai,

... The whole approach of this report² as well as S.K. Dey's previous schemes, are completely different from the methods we have pursued thus far in rehabilitation. Indeed our present methods seldom think in terms of real rehabilitation and of creating a productive and more or less self-sufficient community in each area. They are based on loans and providing some kind of indifferent housing or of giving land where available. We have spent vast sums of money on relief without producing any real substantial results, so far as most refugees are concerned. Now some kind of decision has been arrived at to stop free rations by the end of October and to have work centres instead. I am afraid there is little chance of our work centres absorbing any large number of refugees by the end of October. So we shall have a difficult problem to face them. It will hardly be possible to tell all these refugees to shift for themselves. For this reason we have been compelled to say that those who are not provided with work will have to be supported in some way or other.

Anyway I feel that we have not tackled this problem, in spite of the money spent upon it, in a practical or businesslike way. It was for this reason that I was interested in Dey's schemes which seemed to me to produce something good and substantial and be in the nature of an investment.

I have been thinking on another line. This is to have some kind of voluntary conscription of all refugees who want relief, or at any rate, of the able-bodied ones. They should be made to accept, if they are willing, a semi-military regime of discipline and work. If they are not prepared to accept this, then they can shift for themselves and our responsibility ceases. This would be advantageous from several points of view. We can deal with the refugees more thoroughly and we can send them where we like for a period, say a year. Meanwhile the other process

1. File No. 29(164)/49-PMS. Extracts.

2. The report on Nilokheri Scheme for rural-cum-urban development, strongly recommended the adoption of an agro-industrial economy. It proposed the building up of a township supported by a hinterland of villages, each complementing the other. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 12, pp. 141-142.

of rehabilitation should proceed. But this idea too is rather vague and I am not sure that it can be given effect to, though we might try it....³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. In a letter of 18 August to Nehru, Saksena stated that the proposed voluntary conscription of able-bodied displaced persons with the object of providing them work would be very expensive and unsuited to large and temporary camps. Such a scheme, he added, could be tried on a smaller scale at Faridabad camp which was organized and controlled by the Army.

2. To J.B. Kripalani¹

New Delhi
October 1, 1949

My dear Jivat,²

As you know, I am going away to England and America and shall not be back for five weeks. I am particularly concerned about the refugees or the displaced persons. Owing to financial stringency, we have been forced to limit our expenditure in all directions. This has affected the expenditure on rehabilitation also. However, I think we shall have enough to go round, if we are careful.

But an important question arises about our whole policy in regard to future relief and rehabilitation as also priorities. We are very anxious to put an end to our relief centres and convert them into work centres producing something. We want to provide for the education of children. In two of our camps Talimi Sangh has agreed to take charge of education.

We have already a number of training centres and one rather remarkable township called Nilokheri. There is a scheme, which has been generally approved, drawn up by Narielwala,³ S.K. Dey and Koenigsberger⁴ for the establishment of small self-sufficient townships. I am much attracted to this scheme. But perhaps we cannot go far in this connection now for lack of funds. However, we would very much like to go ahead in a small way with it even now.

All these problems have to be viewed in perspective and some kind of objectives to be aimed at should be laid down. Priorities should be established. Work centres essentially mean development of cottage and small-scale industries. The Cabinet

1. File No. 29(191)/49-PMS. Also available in J.N. Collection.

2. He was Member, Constituent Assembly of India at this time.

3. P.A. Narielwala.

4. O.H. Koenigsberger. Narielwala and Koenigsberger were advisers, Faridabad and Nilokheri Development Boards.

Committee on Rehabilitation felt that the whole problem of rehabilitation should be reviewed by a small committee preferably of people not connected with government. They would bring a fresh viewpoint to this difficult and important business.

I shall be glad if you would agree to join this committee. We do not wish you to go into any great detail and examine each scheme thoroughly, though of course it is open to the committee to scrutinise anything. We want rather a broad approach. I hope you will agree to join this committee.

As I am going away, I should be grateful if you will discuss this matter with Mohanlal Saksena. He will get in touch with you.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

3. Need for Social Conscription¹

India should have social conscription making it obligatory on the part of every national to do some kind of work involving manual labour. This is useful not only for keeping the people in good mental and physical condition, but also in the larger interests of the State.

It is wrong to look upon manual labour as degrading. In certain countries there is conscription making it compulsory for everybody to serve in the army at a particular age. After service in the army people come out and settle down in ordinary life. Nobody there thinks that serving the army as a private is in any way degrading.

Refugee camps are to be turned into work centres. This would not only add to the productive capacity of the State but also keep up the morale and health of displaced persons.

It is the duty of the State to rehabilitate millions of displaced persons from Pakistan who have been wrongly described as refugees. It is, however, equally essential for the people to undertake the work in their own small way.

1. Remarks while inaugurating an exhibition-cum-sale of refugee handicrafts organised by the United Council for Relief and Welfare, New Delhi, 3 October 1949. From the *National Herald* and *The Hindustan Times*, 4 October 1949.

No State can accomplish such a tremendous task unless it gets the active cooperation of the people. The State in India functioned as something apart from the public. It may be a legacy of the British rule, but it is clear that the State does not easily become a part of mass activity which it should be.

Relief afforded to displaced persons should be correlated to work. And work done should be of practical value. They should have artistic value, of course. Productive work done by displaced persons would reduce the burden on the State.

The Council has done useful work in rehabilitating displaced persons. It has brought together twenty seven relief organizations and thus prevented overlapping in their work. Organizations like these have to be made permanent institutions. I would also stress the need of personal service and help by individuals and groups in the cause of relief and rehabilitation apart from giving subscriptions.

CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

I. General



AT A REFUGEE COLONY, LUDHIANA, 18 SEPTEMBER 1949



DEPARTURE FOR THE UNITED STATES, NEW DELHI, 6 OCTOBER 1949

1. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
August 17, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your letter of the 16th August.

Independence Day passed off very well and successfully in Delhi and so far as I can judge, all over the country. In spite of our efforts to tone down celebrations, the people generally did celebrate the occasion. This is a healthy sign. The foreign diplomats and an American engineer, who is staying with me and who has had experience of such celebrations in America, in Europe, Soviet Union, China, etc. were all greatly impressed not only by the numbers but by this quiet discipline.

... We had a meeting at Government House today to consider Article 24² of the Constitution.³ Apart from the Governor-General and myself, the following were present: Matthai, Ambedkar,⁴ Syama Prasad Mookerjee, Gopalaswami Ayyangar, K.M. Munshi and Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer. As a result of our talks, a certain agreement was arrived at, which practically reinstates the article as printed in the Draft Constitution with a few alterations. I am enclosing a copy of this. I am not quite sure if Pantji⁵ will agree with this. But I hope he will. Unfortunately he is unwell and he has got a boil or something and he is in Lucknow.

About the guarantees to Princes etc., we cannot of course keep the details of these guarantees secret.⁶ They are not really secret, as they have come out in bits and

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

2. Article 24 of the Draft Constitution dealt with the payment of compensation for the property acquired. Subsequently the Article was renumbered as Article 31—'Compulsory Acquisition of Property'. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Volume 12, pp. 154-155, 159-160.

3. In his letter Patel informed Nehru that he had a talk with K.M. Munshi about the compensation clause but added that there "is still a certain amount of discrimination against the zamindari property, but that we could justify on the ground that this abolition of zamindari is either a fact already or is going to be a fact in the near future. It is necessary to ensure that whatever has been done is not undone on technical grounds. Apart from this, we can also contend that the zamindars are only intermediaries and all their rights in land flow from the recognition of their status as such by the State. The land belongs to the State, and therefore, the zamindars are not entitled to full rights of and compensation for ownership. I think, if put this way, there will not be any difficulty in the Party, particularly now, when lands other than zamindari are outside the scope of this discriminatory treatment."

4. B.R. Ambedkar.

5. G.B. Pant.

6. Patel clarified in his letter that "if there is a provision in the Constitution honouring the guarantees and obligations which we have incurred, that would serve my purpose. At the same time, I do not see how we can avoid bringing these facts to the notice of the Party." See also Nehru's letter to Patel of 11 August 1949, *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol.12, pp. 162-164.

further information will no doubt be placed before the Party. About the Services etc.,⁷ Jengar spoke to me and explained what you had told him. We shall certainly have a clause to honour our obligations. I shall put the matter up before the Cabinet, and Jengar is preparing a small note.

While it is perfectly right that these obligations should be honoured, I am afraid that they will be a continuing source of irritation and trouble in future.

As you must know, the refugees who were squatting outside my house left on the 14th August and peace again prevails here. It was a trying experience.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

7. In his letter Patel argued that so far as the Services were concerned since Government of India had entered into specific agreement with the British Government the only way to implement it was "by having constitutional guarantees." He was also against any reduction in the emoluments except voluntarily later.

2. To Amrit Kaur¹

New Delhi
August 21, 1949

My dear Amrit Kaur,²

Matthai has shown me your letter to him of the 20th August and your letter to Ambedkar about the inclusion of public health and sanitation in the concurrent list.

This matter was discussed at length in the Premiers' Conference and there was almost unanimous opposition to it on behalf of the Premiers. It is perfectly true that we should see to it that there is no lowering of standards. But it is difficult to include this vast subject of public health and sanitation in the concurrent list, as that practically takes away one of the major subjects from the provincial list. It was pointed out that so far as standards are concerned and international regulations, the Centre has the power to lay down rules and regulations. For the rest, it would be easier to induce provinces to adopt certain measures than to pass legislation in the Centre against their will. The machinery to implement it will naturally be that of the provinces. It is impossible for the Centre to build up a new machinery for health and sanitation all over the provinces. If the machinery belongs to the provinces, the only way to proceed is with their concurrence and not against their will.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. She was the Minister for Health at this time.

The point to be made clear is that international standards will have to be maintained by the Centre.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To B.R. Ambedkar¹

New Delhi
August 22, 1949

My dear Ambedkar,²

Your letter of the 22nd August about the new draft of Article 24.³ I have already agreed to this draft and I adhere to that agreement. But my agreement was largely based on the interpretation which Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer and I think you gave to it in regard to the intervention of the judiciary. I understood that as the draft stands, the compensation or the principle of the compensation cannot normally be challenged by a court of law. They can only be challenged, if it is claimed that the compensation is a fraud on the Constitution. It is understood that this will be made clear in speeches by eminent lawyers and, more especially you and Alladi both in the Party meeting and in the Assembly itself.

I would certainly like Govind Ballabh Pant to be here when this matter is taken up in the Party. He is unwell at present, but it is possible that he may be able to come in two or three days' time. It might be worthwhile to telephone to him to

1. File No. 16(38)/49-PMS.

2. He was Law Minister, 1947-51.

3. Ambedkar wrote that except for one member of the Drafting Committee, the new draft of Article 24 which had been approved by all read thus:

“(1) No person shall be deprived of his property save by authority of law.

(2) No property movable or immovable, including any interest in, or in any company owing any commercial or industrial undertaking, shall be taken possession of or acquired for public purposes under any law authorising the taking of such possession or such acquisition, unless the law provides for compensation for the property taken possession of or acquired and either fixes the amount of the compensation, or specifies the principles on which, and the manner in which, the compensation is to be determined and given.

(3) No law, as is referred to in clause (2) of this Article, made by the Legislature of a State, shall have effect unless it has received the assent of the President.

(4) Nothing in clause (2) of this Article shall affect (a) the provisions of any existing law (b) the provisions of any law which the State may hereafter make for the purpose of imposing or levying any tax or penalty or for the promotion of public health or the prevention of danger to life or property.”

find out. If he cannot come within a reasonable time, then we shall have to proceed without him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
August 31, 1949

My dear President,

I refer to your letter dated the 29th August regarding the proposal² to dissolve the present Constituent Assembly after the Constitution is passed.

We shall of course give every consideration to the points you have mentioned.³

I might mention that there appears to be no danger of prominent non-party men not finding a place in any new Assembly that might be elected.⁴ But the fact has to be remembered.

The main reason for suggesting a new election on the old basis was a psychological one. The present Assembly has grown rather stale in the eyes of the public and any change, even a partial one, would bring an element of freshness.⁵ But the difficulties you have pointed are obvious and deserve every consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. CA/66/Cons./49, Constitution Section, Ministry of Law.
2. He was President of the Constituent Assembly of India from 1946 to 1950. He proposed that the Indian Independence Act be amended with powers to dissolve the existing Assembly and hold a general election.
3. Prasad pointed out that some States or unions of States had no legislatures and provision would have to be made to cover these. Muslims, Christians and Sikhs would also have to be provided for under the new law since reservation had been done away with in the Constitution. He was of the opinion that these communities would have a just grievance that the general election was merely to get rid of their representatives who were independent of the Congress.
4. Prasad feared that in the new Central Legislature the consideration accorded to representation of prominent non-party men in the Constituent Assembly would be ignored in favour of party men.
5. Prasad suggested that to bring in "fresh blood" all those members who were also members of the provincial legislatures be asked to resign and their vacancies be filled by election.

5. The Right to Property¹

Mr President,² I move:

“That for Article 24, the following article be substituted:-

24(1) No person shall be deprived of his property save by authority of law.

(2) No property, movable or immovable, including any interest in, or in any company owning any commercial or industrial undertaking shall be taken possession of or acquired for public purposes under any law authorising the taking of such possession or such acquisition, unless the law provides for compensation for the property taken possession of or acquired and either fixes the amount of the compensation, or specifies the principles on which, and the manner in which, the compensation is to be determined.

(3) No such law as is referred to in clause (2) of this Article made by the legislature of a State shall have effect unless such law having been reserved for the consideration of the President has received his assent.

(4) If any Bill pending before the legislature of a State at the commencement of this Constitution has, after it had been passed by such legislature, received the assent of the President, the law so assented to shall not be called in question in any court on the ground that it contravenes the provisions of clause (2) of this Article.

(5) Save as provided in the next succeeding clause, nothing in clause (2) of this Article shall affect—

(a) the provisions of any existing law, or

(b) the provisions of any law which the State may hereafter make for the purpose of imposing or leaving any tax or penalty or for the promotion of public health or the prevention of danger to life or property.

(6) Any law of a State enacted, not more than one year before the commencement of this Constitution, may within three months from such commencement be submitted by the Governor of the State to the President for his certification; and thereupon, if the President by public notification so certifies, it shall not be called in question in court on the ground that it contravenes the provisions of clause (2) of this Article or sub-section (2) of Section 299 of the Government of India Act, 1935.”

1. Speech in the Constituent Assembly, 10 September 1949. *Constituent Assembly Debates, Official Report*, Vol. IX, 30 July to 18 September 1949, pp. 1191-1196.

2. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Constituent Assembly, was in the Chair.

Sir, this House has discussed many Articles of this Constitution at considerable length. I doubt if there are many other Articles which have given rise to so much discussion and debate as this present Article that I have moved. In this discussion many eminent lawyers have taken part, in private discussions and discussions in other places, and naturally they have thrown a great deal of light—so much light indeed that the conflicting beams of light have often produced a certain measure of darkness. But the questions before us really are fairly simple.

Sir, In spite of the great argument that has taken place, not in this House but outside among Members over this Article, the questions involved are relatively simple. It is true that there are two approaches to those questions, the two approaches being the individual right to property and the community's interest in that property or the community's right. There is no conflict necessarily between those two: sometimes the two may overlap and sometimes there might be, if you like, some petty conflict. This amendment that I have moved tries to remove or to avoid that conflict and also tried to take into consideration fully both these rights—the right of the individual and the right of the community.

First of all let us be quite clear that there is no question of any expropriation without compensation so far as this Constitution is concerned. If property is required for public use it is a well established law that it should be acquired by the State, by compulsion if necessary, and compensation is paid, and the law has laid down methods of judging that compensation. Now, normally speaking in regard to such acquisition—what might be called petty acquisition or acquisition of small bits of property or even relatively large bits, if you like, for the improvement of a town, etc.—the law has been clearly laid down. But more and more today the community has to deal with large schemes of social reform, social engineering etc., which can hardly be considered from the point of view of that individual acquisition of a small bit of land or structure. Difficulties arise—apart from every other difficulty, is the question of time. Here is a piece of legislation that the community, as represented by its chosen representatives, considers quite essential for the progress and the safety of the State and it is a piece of legislation which affects millions of people. Obviously you cannot leave that piece of legislation too long, for widespread and continuous litigation in the courts of law. Otherwise the future of millions of people may be affected; otherwise the whole structure of the State may be shaken to its foundations; so we have to keep these things in view. If we have to take the property, if the State so wills, we have to see that fair and equitable compensation is given, because we proceed on the basis of fair and equitable compensation. But when we consider the equity of it we have always to remember that the equity does not apply only to the individual but to the community. No individual can override ultimately the rights of the community at large. No community should injure and invade the rights of the individual unless it be for the most urgent and important reasons.

How is it going to balance all this? You may balance it to some extent by legal

means, but ultimately the balancing authority can only be the sovereign legislature of the country which can keep before it all the various factors—all the public, political and other factors—that come into the picture. This Article, if you will be good enough to read it, leads you by a chain of thought and refers to these various factors, and I think refers to them in an equitable manner. It is true that some Honourable Members may criticize this Article because of certain perhaps overlapping, what they might consider lack of clarity in a word here or there or a phrase. That to some extent is inevitable when you try to bring together a large number of ideas and approaches and factors and put them in one or a number of phrases.

This draft Article which I have the honour to propose is the result of a great deal of consultation, is the result in fact of the attempt to bring together and compromise various approaches to this question. I feel that that attempt has in a very large measure succeeded. It may not meet the wishes of every individual who may like to emphasize one part of it more than the other. But I think it is a just compromise and it does justice and equity not only to the individual but to the community.

The first clause in this Article lays down the basic principle that no person shall be deprived of his property save by authority of law. The next clause says that the law should provide for the compensation for the property and should either fix the amount of compensation or specify the principles under which or the manner in which the compensation is to be determined. The law should do it. Parliament should do it. There is no reference in this to any judiciary coming into the picture. Much thought has been given to it and there has been much debate as to where the judiciary comes in. Eminent lawyers have told us that on a proper construction of this clause, normally speaking, the judiciary should not and does not come in. Parliament fixes either the compensation itself or the principles governing that compensation and they should not be challenged except for one reason, where it is thought that there has been a gross abuse of the law, where in fact there has been a fraud on the Constitution. Naturally the judiciary comes in to see if there has been a fraud on the Constitution or not. But normally speaking one presumes that any Parliament representing the entire community of the nation will certainly not commit a fraud on its own Constitution and will be very much concerned with doing justice to the individual as well as the community.

In regard to the other clauses I need say very little except that clause (4) relates to Bills now pending before the legislature of a State. The House will know that there are such Bills pending. In order to avoid any doubt with regard to those measures, it says that as soon as the President has assented to that law no question should be raised in a court of law in regard to the provision of that enactment. Previous to this it has already been said that the matter has to go to the President. That is, if you like, a kind of a check to see that in a hurry the legislature has not done something which it should not have done. If so, the President no doubt

will draw their attention to it and suggest such changes as he may consider fit and proper for Parliament's consideration.

Finally, there are certain other saving clauses about which I need not say much. Clause (6) again refers to any law which has been passed within the last year or the year before the commencement of the Constitution. It says that, if the President certifies that, no other obstruction should be raised. Reading this Article, it seems to me surprising that we have had this tremendous debate on it—not here but elsewhere. That debate was due perhaps not to this Article but to rather other conflicts of opinion which are in the minds of Members and, I believe, many outside.

We are passing through a tremendous age of transition. That of course is a platitude. Nevertheless platitudes have to be repeated and to be remembered lest in forgetting them we land ourselves in great difficulties and in crisis. When we pass through great ages of transition, the various systems—even systems of law—have to undergo changes. Conceptions which had appeared to us basic, undergo changes. And I draw the attention of the House to the very conception of property which may seem to us an unchanging conception but which has changed throughout the times, and changed very greatly, and which is today undergoing a very rapid change. There was a period when there was property in human beings. The king owned everything—the land, the cattle, the human beings. Property used to be measured in terms of the cows and bullocks you possessed in old days. Property in land then became more important. Gradually the property in human beings ceased to exist. If you go back to the period when there were debates on slavery you will see how very much the same arguments were advanced in regard to the property in human beings as are sometimes advanced now with regard to the other property. Well, slavery ceased to exist.

Gradually the idea of property underwent changes not so much by law, but by the development of human society. Land today, as it has been yesterday, is likely to be a very important kind of property. One cannot overlook it. Nevertheless, other kinds of property today are very important in industrially developed countries. Ultimately you arrive at an idea of property which consists chiefly in a millionaire having a bundle of papers in his hands which represents millions, securities, promissory notes, etc. That is the conception of property today; that is the real conception of the millionaire. It is rather an odd conception to have to protect carefully that property which, in the larger concept of vastly greater properties, is paper. In other words, property becomes today, more and more a question of credit. It becomes more and more immaterial and more and more a shadow. A man with credit has more property and can raise property and can do wonders with that credit. But a man with no credit can do nothing at all. I am merely mentioning this to the House to show how this idea of property has been a changing one where society has been changing rapidly owing to the various revolutions, industrial and other.

Again, another change takes place. Property remains of course property, but the ownership of property begins to spread out. The individual, instead of owning a very small share, more or less begins to own a very large share partly and thereafter becomes the co-sharer of a very large property and gets the benefit of that, although he is not complete master of it. So cooperative undertaking, so in a sense the joint-stock system, etc. began. So in a sense also spread the idea of an individual becoming a part owner as a member of a group of properties on a big scale which no single individual can ever hold except very rarely. In recent years the tendency has been for monopoly of wealth and property in a limited number of hands. This does not apply to India so much, because we have not grown so much in that direction. But where industrially countries have grown fast there has been monopoly of capital with the result that even the old idea of property and free enterprise is not easily applicable, because in the ultimate analysis the few persons who possess a larger monopoly of capital really dominate the scene. They can crush out the little shopkeeper by their methods of business and by the fact that they have large sums of money at their command. Without giving the slightest compensation, they can crush him out of existence. The small man is crushed out of existence by the modern tendency to have money power concentrated in some hands. Thus the old conception of the individual owner of property suffers not only from social developments, as we see them taking place and from new conceptions of cooperative ownership of property, but from the development on the old lines when a rich man with capital can buy out the small one for a song.

How are you going to protect the individual? I began by saying that there are two approaches—the approach of the individual and the approach of the community. But how are we to protect the individual today except the few who are strong enough to protect themselves? They have become fewer and fewer. In such a state of affairs, the State has to protect the individual's right to property. He may possess property, but it may mean nothing to him, because some monopoly comes in the way and prevents him from the enjoyment of his property. The subject therefore is not a simple one when you say you are protecting the individual's rights, because the individual may lose that right completely by the functioning of various forces today both in the capitalist direction and in the socialist direction.

Well, this is a large question and one can consider the various aspects of it at length. I wish to place before the House just a hint of these broader issues, because I am a little afraid that this House may be moved by legal arguments of extreme subtlety and extreme cleverness, ignoring the human aspect of the problem and the other aspects which are really changing the world today.

The House has to keep in mind the transitional and the revolutionary aspects of the problem, because, when you think of the land question in India today, you are thinking of something which is dynamic, moving, changing and revolutionary. These may well change the face of India either way; whether you deal with it or do not deal with it, it is not a static thing. It is something which is not entirely,

absolutely within the control of law and parliaments. That is to say, if law and Parliaments do not fit themselves into the changing picture, they cannot control the situation completely. This is a big fact. Therefore it is in this context of the fast-changing situation in India that we have to view this question and it is with this context in the wide world and in Asia we are concerned.

It must be said that we have to consider these problems not in the narrow, legalistic and juristic sense. There are some Honourable Members here who, at the very outset, were owners of land, owners of zamindaris. Naturally they feel that their interests might be affected by this land legislation. But I think that the way this land legislation is being dealt with today—and I am acquainted a little more intimately with the land legislation in the United Provinces than elsewhere—the way this question is being dealt with may appear to them not completely right so far as they are concerned; but it is a better way and a just way, from their point of view, than any other way that is going to come later. That way may not be by any process of legislation. The land question may be settled differently. If you look at the situation all the world over, and all over Asia, nothing is more important and vital than a gradual reform of the big estates.

It has been not today's policy, but the old policy of the National Congress laid down years ago that the zamindari institution in India, that is the big estate system must be abolished. So far as we are concerned, we, who are connected with the Congress, shall give effect to that pledge naturally completely, one hundred per cent and no legal subtlety and no change is going to come in our way. That is quite clear. We will honour our pledges. Within limits no judge and no Supreme Court can make itself a third chamber. No Supreme Court and no judiciary can stand in judgement over the sovereign will of Parliament representing the will of the entire community. If we go wrong here and there we can point it out, but in the ultimate analysis, where the future of the community is concerned, no judiciary can come in the way. And if it comes in the way, ultimately the whole Constitution is a creature of Parliament. But we must respect the judiciary, the Supreme Court, and the other High Courts in the land. As wise people, their duty it is to see that in a moment of passion, in a moment of excitement, even the representatives of the people do not go wrong; they might. In the detached atmosphere of the courts, they should see to it that nothing is done that may be against the Constitution, that may be against the good of the country, that may be against the community in the larger sense of the term. Therefore, if such a thing occurs, they should draw attention to that fact, but it is obvious that no court, no system of judiciary can function in the nature of a third House, as a judiciary can function in the nature of a third House, as a kind of third House of correction. So, it is important that with this limitation the judiciary should function.

You have decided, the House has decided, rather most of the provincial governments have decided to have a second chamber. Why has it been so decided? The second chamber also is an elected chamber mostly. Presumably, they have

so decided because we want some check somewhere to any rapid decision of the first chamber, which that chamber itself may later regret and may wish to go back on. So, from that point of view, it is desirable to have people whose duty is, not in any small matters but with regard to the basic principles that you lay down, to see that you do not go wrong, as sometimes even the Legislature may go wrong, but ultimately the fact remains that the Legislature must be supreme and must not be interfered with by the courts of law in such measures of social reform. Otherwise, you will have strange procedures adopted. Of course, one is the method of changing the Constitution. The other is that which we have seen in great countries across the seas that the executive, which is the appointing authority of the judiciary, begins to appoint judges of its own liking for getting decisions in its own favour, but that is not a very good method.

I submit, therefore, that in this resolution the approach made protects both the individual and the community. It gives the final authority to Parliament, subject only to the scrutiny of the superior courts in case of some grave error, in case of contravention of the Constitution or the like, not otherwise. And finally in regard to certain pending measures that have been passed, it makes it clear beyond any doubt that there should be no interference. I beg to place this amendment before the House.

6. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
September 27, 1949

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 25th September.² I am afraid I have no faith in astrology and certainly I should not like to fix up national programmes in accordance with the dictates of astrologers. The change of date 26th January for another date

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Rajendra Prasad wrote that "... when the 15 August 1947 was fixed for transfer of power... astrologers declared that it was not an auspicious day and predicted trouble. But we didn't pay any heed to their warnings... We may have no faith in astrology and may be right in considering it to be remnant of superstition. But when we act not in an individual capacity but as representatives of millions and millions of men and women who have that faith, it may be improper not to consider their feelings in the matter, particularly when no loss may be apprehended by doing so... If you at all feel interested in the matter, it may not be difficult unofficially... to find out... the most auspicious day and time for the inauguration of the new Constitution."

would require a great deal of explanation and would not redound to our credit in the world or, for the matter of that, with large numbers of people in India. Many indeed would resent it greatly and there would be a bitter controversy from which we would not emerge happily. I rather doubt if millions and millions of men and women are represented by the writer of the letter sent to you. If they are so represented, then we can either combat this delusion, if we consider it so, or allow others, who believe in astrology, to take charge of the destiny of the nation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES
II. The Choice of the President

1. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi

September 10, 1949

My dear Rajendra Babu,

As the session of the Constituent Assembly is drawing to a close, we shall soon have to decide about the manner of election of the President of the Republic for the interim period till general elections are held.² Apart from the manner of election it is desirable to be clear in our minds about the person to be put forward. In such a case a contested election for this brief period between our top ranking colleagues would be most unfortunate. Sometime back there was some rumour in the press and you were good enough to issue a contradiction.³ I am told that rumours are again afloat and some members of the Constituent Assembly are more or less canvassing. I feel this must be ended.

I have discussed this matter with Vallabhbhai and we felt that the safest and best course from a number of points of view was to allow present arrangements to continue, *mutatis mutandis*. That is that Rajaji might continue as President. That would involve the least change and the State machine would continue functioning as before. Of course you would be a very welcome choice as President but that would involve a change and consequent rearrangements. Also in a way to push out Rajaji at this stage would be almost a condemnation of his work. That would be most unfortunate. It was for these reasons that Vallabhbhai and I felt that Rajaji's name should be put forward for unanimous election. I hope you agree. In this matter it would, of course, be fitting for you to suggest this, rather than for any other person.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 8, pp. 201-202.
2. In January 1948, the Constituent Assembly had approved the Transitional Government Provisions of the Draft Constitution according to which the President of the Constituent Assembly and the existing team of ministers were to constitute Provisional Government till such time as a new Government was formed under the Constitution.
3. While *The Statesman* of 5 May and *Lokvani*, a Hindi weekly, of 22 May 1949 wrote in support of Rajendra Prasad's candidature for Presidentship, the *Blitz* of 6 June speculated on the possible election of Rajagopalachari. On 13 June, Rajendra Prasad, in a press statement, deprecated "discussion of individuals in connection with such a high post. There is and there can be no question of any rivalry between Rajaji and myself for any post of honour."

2. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi

September 11, 1949

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I have just received your letter of today's date.² It is nearly midnight now, but I hasten to reply.

I have been distressed to read your letter and to realize that anything that I have written or done should have made you to come to the conclusions that you indicate. May I, on my part, suggest that you have rather misjudged me and perhaps indirectly Vallabhbhai?³ Vallabhbhai, in any event, has nothing to do with what I wrote to you. I wrote entirely at my instance without any reference to Vallabhbhai or consultation with him.

Perhaps I might state the facts as I know them. There was no question at any time, and in the slightest degree in my mind, and so far as I know, in Vallabhbhai's mind, about any contest for the Presidentship. Long ago, that is about a year ago, I gave some casual thought to this matter. I might have mentioned it to Vallabhbhai, but I do not remember doing so. Rajaji had been functioning as Governor-General for some months. At that time we hoped that the Constitution may be passed much sooner and in fact that it might be promulgated some time in 1949. It struck me that the easiest course for us to adopt would be to ask Rajaji to continue or rather to function as President for the relatively brief period between the promulgation and the new general elections. I thought all this in terms of continuation. There was absolutely no difficulty in electing any other person. But it seemed to me a simpler affair, unless there is some special reason against it, to continue this arrangement, which was working well. I had not then the faintest notion that perhaps you might care to agree to be the President. I was thinking to some extent in terms of the large diplomatic personnel here and numerous formalities and functions that the Governor-General has to observe. It had taken some time for Rajaji gradually

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol.8, pp. 204-206.

2. Rajendra Prasad wrote, "I am required to accept and act upon a decision which has been taken without even the courtesy of consultation, although it concerned me intimately as my name had been dragged into it by you without my knowledge or authority. I am deprived of the chance of flattering myself with the thought that I have not been judged by you and rejected—and rejected too on your reasoning after condemnation and for reasons which cannot bear scrutiny."

3. In his letter Rajendra Prasad wrote, "I should not surprise you if I feel that on the same reasoning by making me a candidate and then rejecting me, you and Vallabhbhai have condemned me and all I have stood for and done during all these years in association with you. No question of agreement arises when one is confronted with a decision which one is expected and required to carry out."

to adapt himself to these niceties of protocol. To have a change meant going through those processes again. For these reasons I thought Rajaji might as well continue. As I have said I never thought of this matter in terms of Rajaji or you. Partly I think this was so because I had hoped that you would be free to devote yourself to the vital task of running the Congress organisation, to which I attach the greatest importance. Indeed I could see of no other person who could do this effectively. Rajaji of course could not, as he had lost touch with the Congress organisation to a large extent some years ago.

I do not think I spoke about this matter to any one, certainly not to Rajaji. As the Constitution-making prolonged itself, the subject dropped from my mind. It was only some little time back when there was some talk in the newspapers that I remembered it again. You will remember yourself mentioning this to me and later you issued a small press note on the subject. Again I quite forgot about the matter.

I have not discussed this with Rajaji and, except for a casual mention of the reference in the press, I have not again spoken to Vallabhbhai about it. Only when you issued the press note or round about that time there was some talk with Vallabhbhai.

Three or four days ago, one or two members of the Constituent Assembly rather casually mentioned to me that there had been some further mention in the press and that some members were talking about it. All I said was that I could not conceive of a contest for the Presidentship between two persons like you and Rajaji. Suddenly I discovered yesterday that this question was no longer a distant one and that it might have to be decided, if not formally then informally, fairly soon. It was this information that led me to write to you yesterday. As you will have noticed, I wrote in my own hand, because I did not wish anyone to see what I have written to you. Vallabhbhai knows nothing about my writing to you and I have not discussed this subject at all with Rajaji.

You will notice that nothing of the kind that I have unfortunately led you to believe from my letter actually took place. There is no question of Vallabhbhai or me trying to place before you some kind of an accomplished fact. I am sure Vallabhbhai had and has no such intention and certainly I did not have it. I started with the presumption that there should be and could be no contest for the Presidentship between you and Rajaji. Rather suddenly when I found that matters might develop very soon, I decided to write to you on my own behalf. I mentioned Vallabhbhai's name in my letter because about the time you issued the statement to the press, there had been some talk between us. Indeed it was because you had issued that statement that I ventured to write to you, otherwise I might have hesitated.

I am deeply sorry that I should have hurt you in any way or made you feel that I have been lacking in respect or consideration for you. Please believe me when I say that this impression of yours is completely wide of the mark.

As you know, I shall be going away from India in about three weeks' time

and I shall be away for five weeks or so. Probably the Constituent Assembly will decide this as well as other issues in my absence.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
September 11, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

For the last two or three days there has been a great deal of talk about the Presidentship. I felt that something had to be done to avoid subsequent contest and conflicts. I decided therefore to write to Rajendra Babu and I wrote to him yesterday in my own handwriting.² As I have no copy of this letter, I shall indicate from memory what I wrote.

I wrote that I had heard some talk about the Presidentship and Rajendra Babu's name had been mentioned. We were all agreed that it would be most unfortunate for any kind of a contest to take place between Rajaji and Rajendra Babu. I felt that having regard to all the circumstances, perhaps it might be desirable for Rajaji to function as President for the interim period, as this would involve the least change or difficulty. Of course I said that there could be no question that Rajendra Babu's choice as President could be an excellent one. But it seems simpler and more feasible for Rajaji to continue at this stage. I mentioned that you were in general agreement with me.

Tonight I have received Rajendra Babu's reply. I enclose a copy of it. Also a copy of my reply to him.

This morning I went to a meeting of the Drafting Committee. Satyanarayan³ was there and he said that he had spoken to you on the telephone and that you had suggested the postponement of the Transitional Clause in the Constitution dealing with the election. I agreed that the matter should be postponed, but the clause as framed merely laid down that the Assembly should elect the President. There was no harm in that clause being passed and the personal question not being

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol.8, pp. 200-201.

2. See *ante*, item 1.

3. Satyanarayan Sinha.

raised at this stage. This could be done later when you were here. I had not then received Rajendra Babu's reply.

This is the position. I must say that I have been greatly surprised at the content and tone of Rajendra Babu's letter. It is for you to deal with the situation now. I shall not mention it to anyone here. I did tell Satyanarayan however that I had written to Rajendra Babu on the subject, though I did not tell him in any detail.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

4. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
September 14, 1949

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Thank you for your letter of 14 September.² I am grateful for what you have written.

When I went to Bombay to see Vallabhbhai, as far as I can remember, your name was not mentioned between us. Certainly this matter was not discussed. I remember of course your speaking to me about this some months ago, showing me your draft statement.

It was about that time that I had some talk with Vallabhbhai. I wrote to you this time, because Satyanarayan and others came to me and said that there was a good deal of talk going on in the party. Also that the very next day the Drafting Committee was considering this matter. My letter was entirely an effort of my own and I do not even exactly remember what I wrote, as I kept no copy. So far as Rajaji is concerned, I have not discussed this matter at all with him in any way.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol.8, pp. 213-214.
2. Rajendra Prasad referring to a news item in the *Blitz* about a contest for the Presidentship between Rajaji and himself wrote that there were "very disparaging allegations against Rajaji suggesting that he was manoeuvring to get elected and also that you and Vallabhbhai were supporting him... that I would be set aside on the ground of my health." He added that he had prior to publication of the news item in *Blitz* issued a press statement to stop the rumours appearing in the press. Prasad however regretted that Nehru's letter of 11 September and the sequence of events preceding the writing of that letter had left an impression on his mind that "You had not accepted my public statement as genuine.... I felt hurt that if you had any doubt in your mind that I would be a contestant you could have inquired of me and it would not have been necessary for you to weigh Rajaji and me in scales and find in favour of Rajaji...."

5. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
September 15, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

During these last few days, we have had to face any number of difficulties and troubles. I have not written much to you or telephoned to you, partly because I have had little time to do either, but chiefly because I do not wish to trouble you unnecessarily. I know that you have a bad habit of worrying. I do not want to add to your worries. I knew of course that you were kept in touch with events here by Satyanarayan and others.

The language issue was solved ultimately more or less satisfactorily.² We have got over the question of the name of the country also. We postponed today the consideration of the transitional provisions, which would have involved the choice of the President of the Republic. You will have to face this issue during the October session and I shall not be here. I believe Rajendra Babu intends fixing 7 October for the session. I have suggested that a party meeting might be held on 4 or 5 October at which I could be present. But it really does not matter. You will be here and the burden will be upon you to pilot these last stages of the constitutional Act.

I have been rather worried over this question of our President. You must have read my correspondence with Rajendra Babu. I had not spoken to Rajaji at all. But when I learnt that there was a good deal of talk and canvassing going on for Rajendra Babu and there was even a possibility of some decision this evening at the party meeting, I decided to speak to Rajaji and put him in touch with developments.

I am told that very active and vigorous canvassing has taken place on this subject and there is a large majority who favour Rajendra Babu. The Biharis of course are in it, the Andhras, a good number of the Tamils. Then generally the protagonists of Hindi favour Rajendra Babu. I was a little surprised to learn that Syama Prasad Mookerjee also favours him.

This is not merely a question of favouring Rajendra Babu, but rather of deliberately keeping Rajaji out. One of the most active agents in this business is Goenka.³

I did not tell Rajaji all this, but gave him some rather vague ideas of how events were developing. He said to me that he would rather be out of the picture and

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol.8, pp. 215-216.

2. The final draft of the Article on the official language (Article 301A) was ratified by the Constituent Assembly on 13 September 1949. Hindi was to be the official language of the Union, while English was to be retained for a period of fifteen years for official purposes of the Union.

3. Ramnath Goenka.

that he was somewhat tired of it all. I told him that so far as I was concerned, I wanted him to continue, quite apart from personal reasons, because I thought it was important that a man like him should be there.⁴

My U.S. programme goes on lengthening itself and I find that it will hardly be possible for me to come back to India before 14 November. The third reading for the Constitution Bill, it is suggested, should be from 7 November onwards.⁵ If possible I should have liked it to be a week later. But I do not want to upset all arrangements. If this third reading begins on the 14th (Monday), then Parliament can hardly meet much before 28 November. I do not know if there will be enough time for it before Christmas.

The final reply to the U.N. Commission was given today. We made some changes according to your suggestions. Tonight I had the U.N. people to dinner here. I understand that they intend going to Geneva within two weeks or so. This is the end of one chapter. Probably they will spend three weeks or more in Geneva and go to Lake Success.

I am going to the Punjab for three days on Saturday morning, returning on Monday night.

I hope your health continues to improve.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

4. Rajendra Prasad was elected the first President of India by the Constituent Assembly on 24 January 1950.
5. The third reading of the Draft Constitution commenced on 14 November 1949.

LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTIC PROVINCES

I. The National Language

1. Numerals and Regional Languages¹

The importance of numerals in the life of the country, be that in any language or script, must be admitted. I admit, that when I first looked at the new draft articles on the language question I was surprised to find the clause providing for the use of international numerals. But the more I think about it the more convinced I am that it is not only a wise suggestion but something very essential from many points of view. The main objection that the numerals described as international are Arabic in origin is entirely baseless. In actual fact these numerals are Indian in origin, and by usage have become common to the whole world. Why should not India use what has been developed here? It is not a question of adding nine more letters to the Hindi alphabet. It is primarily a question of practical advantage as against the possibility of great confusion.

As for regional languages, the question whether the introduction of Hindi should be reviewed by a commission five or ten years after the commencement of the Constitution should be left to the non-Hindi speaking people. They will have to bear the brunt of the change and it is therefore only proper that they shall have the final say in the matter. I would suggest that regional languages should be recognized, they should be enumerated in the Constitution itself, so that languages like Urdu are not left out, and are ensured their due place.

I would also suggest that the article enjoining on the State to promote the development of the Devanagari script throughout the territory of India should be deleted. I feel that the provision might be understood to mean that the State has the right to replace regional scripts by the Devanagari script. Since it is not our intention to interfere with the development of regional languages in their own scripts it will be best not to include such a provision in the Constitution.

1. Speech at a meeting of the Congress Party in the Constituent Assembly, 23 August 1949. From *The Hindustan Times*, 24 August 1949.

2. To N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar¹

New Delhi
August 24, 1949

My dear Gopalaswami,²

... I am particularly anxious that there should be no weakening on the question

1. File No.33(26)/48-PMS. Extracts.
2. He was Minister without Portfolio, 1947-50.

of the use of numerals, and that the phrase used should be "the international form of Indian numerals." I do not think that the proviso you gave to 301-A (1) about numerals in your original draft is necessary or desirable.

There is some talk, I am told, to put in another proviso to say that Hindi numerals can be used wherever the President considers necessary. I do not see the necessity for this and I do not think it will at all fit in 301-A(1). I would personally prefer my draft on this question. In this the President is given authority in 301-A(2) to authorize the Hindi language and numerals "in addition" to English, etc. "In addition to", seems better than "along with" as in the previous draft.

I am very anxious that the so-called Directive Principles should be incorporated in this part on language of the Union. I prefer, I need hardly say, the Directive Principles.

I think Tandon's suggestion that provinces using one language may communicate with each other in that language should be accepted.

Also I hope that a Schedule giving the languages will be added and Urdu will be included in it. A further addition might be that applications, representations, etc., may be presented in any officially recognized language.

It seems to me that most members of the Assembly do not know that the whole system of numerals in use today all over the world is of Indian origin. They get rather mixed up by these numerals being called Arabic numerals. As a matter of fact in the Arab world these numerals are called *Hindya* meaning "of India or from India". I have studied somewhat the origin of the numerals system, and found it a fascinating story. The whole thing depended upon the invention of the zero. Till then mathematics was tied up and strangled by the cumbrous Roman numerals. The discovery of the zero in India is considered one of the great discoveries of all time. This led immediately to the decimal system which began in India and the numerals took shape. All this is to the very great credit of India and yet most of our people do not know about it and actually want to discard, in a sense, one of the greatest products of Indian genius. I think for purely nationalist reason we should make this our own and take pride in it. I should like to say something about this to the Party if there is a chance.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To Vishwanath Dutta¹

New Delhi
September 8, 1949

Dear Friend,²

Your letter of the 6th September.³ Whether you agree with me or not, you should not come to conclusions from brief and truncated newspaper reports.

So far as I am concerned, I believe in Hindustani, as I used to, that is a language which represents the composite culture of northern India and which can draw from all sources. It is true that there is a strong tendency to push this aside. I have tried to combat it.

As for English, it is absurd for any person to imagine that it will disappear from India. What I said was that it would inevitably disappear from the commanding place that it held in India.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 33(26)/48-PMS.
2. A student of Lucknow University; later Professor of History, Kurukshetra University.
3. Dutta expressed his surprise at what he thought Nehru had said in his address to the students of Allahabad University that 'English would be given a secondary place and eventually it would disappear.' He also inquired if Nehru still had 'the passion and zest for Hindustani.'

4. To N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar¹

New Delhi
September 10, 1949

My dear Gopalaswami,

Your letter about the language controversy.² I agree with you entirely, as you

1. File No. 33(26)/48-PMS.
2. In his letter of 10 September 1949 Ayyangar wrote that he did not support the draft of 'a compromise solution' on language specially on the "question of numerals. I cannot with equanimity contemplate the displacement, at any time in India's future history, of international numerals or of their being relegated to a subsidiary place." He feared that "the idea of permitting the use of international numerals for the first 15 years" was "in the direction of making the international numerals fade out from India in the same way as it is proposed to do in the case of the English language."

know. I am very tired of all this business. I told Munshi³ this morning to go to you and that I would agree to anything that you agreed to.

I am not particularly worried about what will happen many years later. If India then wants to make some big change, it will make it in spite of our efforts now. The point is not to do the wrong thing now.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. As a member of the Constituent Assembly of India K.M. Munshi was associated with the drafting of the Constitution.

5. The National Language¹

Mr President, there has been a great deal of debate here and elsewhere, and much argument over this question.² Personally I do not regret the time spent on it, or even the feeling raised by it. Sometimes I may not agree with that feeling; but after all, the question before us is a very vital question, and it is right that vital people should feel vitally about it.

We have had learned speeches, and speeches that were perhaps merely enthusiastic. Now, I do not know in which category to place myself. Neither the first nor the second suits me or is appropriate for me. So perhaps, you will put me in some third category. But I am interested vastly in this question from a variety of points of view; and I have listened to the arguments here and elsewhere, and sometimes I regret to say, I have got rather excited myself over it. And these scores and hundreds of amendments have also been perused by me, and yet I have felt that the matter is not one for verbal amendments here and there, but goes down somewhere deeper.

1. Speech in the Constituent Assembly, 13 September 1949. *Constituent Assembly of India Debates, Official Report*, Vol. IX, 30 July 1949 to 18 September 1949, pp. 1409-1416.
2. Since July 1949 there was opposition to the inclusion in the Draft Constitution of the Article which proposed Hindi and Devanagari as official language and script of India respectively and English as an additional language for ten years. The opposition came from (1) a group which did not want any official language to be prescribed by the Constitution; (2) a group which wanted adoption of Hindustani and not Hindi as official language; and (3) a group which wanted English to be the official language for 15 years to be replaced thereafter following a national debate. There was also a controversy on the adoption of the form for the use of numerals.

I rise to support the amendment³ that my friend and colleague Mr Gopalaswami Ayyangar has placed before the House. I support that amendment, not because I think it is perfect in every way; perhaps if I had my way, I would like to change it here and there. But I know that this is the result of continuous effort and endeavour, and thought and consultation, and as a result of all that consultation and thought, some integrated thing took shape. Now, it is a difficult matter to alter or vary something that is an integrated whole, which displays a certain strain of thought. You may change it here and there but I do not think that will do justice either to the original amendment or the person who wants to change. It would be far better if some other integrated solution was found if the first one was not liked or approved of. Therefore, although I would have liked, perhaps if I had a chance, to lay greater emphasis on some aspects of the amendment, nevertheless after all that has happened I think that amendment displays not only the largest measure of agreement but also, I think, a thought-out approach to this difficult problem.

Now I am not going to talk about any of the various amendments that are before you or even analyse the amendments that I am supporting. Rather I wish to draw your attention to certain other aspects, certain basic things which perhaps are presented by this conflict on the issue either in the House or in the country. After all it is not a conflict of words, though words may represent that conflict here. It is a conflict of different approaches, of looking perhaps in somewhat different directions.

We stand—it is a platitude to say it—on the threshold of a new age, for each age is always dying and giving birth to another. But in the present context of events all over the world and more so perhaps in India than elsewhere, we are participating both in a death and in a birth and when these two events are put together then great problems present themselves and those who have to solve them have to think of the basic issues and not be swept away by superficial considerations. Whether all the Honourable Members of this House have thought much of these basic issues or not I do not know. Surely many of them must have done so. But there are those basic issues. What is our objective? What are we going to do? Where do we want to go to?

Language is a most intimate thing. It is perhaps the most important thing which society has evolved, out of which other things have taken growth. Now language

3. The amendment of Gopalaswami Ayyangar proposed that the official language of the Union should be Hindi in the Devanagari script, the numerals to be used for the official purposes of the Union should be the international form of Indian numerals, English should continue to be used for all official purposes of the Union for a period of 15 years, the President be authorized during that period to sanction the use of Devanagari numerals in addition to international numerals for any of the official purposes of the Union, and that English should continue in the form of bills and laws and their interpretations in Courts for a period much longer than 15 years as Hindi lacked precision.

is a very big thing. It makes us aware of ourselves. First, when language is developed it makes us aware of our neighbour, it makes us aware of our society, it makes us aware of other societies also. It is a unifying factor and it is also a factor promoting disunity. It is an integrating factor and it is a disintegrating factor as between two languages, as between two countries. So it has both those aspects and when therefore you think in terms of a common language here you have to think of both those facts.

All of us here, I have no doubt, wish to promote the integrity of India. There are no two opinions about it. Yet in the analysis of this very question of language and in the approaches to it one set of people may think that this is going to be a unifying factor, another may think that if approached wrongly it may be a disintegrating factor, and a disruptive one. So I want this House to consider this question and therefore it has become essential for us to view it in this larger context and not merely be swept away by our looking for this or that.

A very wise man, the Father of our Nation, thought of this question, as he thought of so many important questions affecting our national future. He paid a great deal of attention to it and throughout his career he went on repeating his advice in regard to it. Now that showed that, as with other things, he always chose the fundamentals of our national existence. Almost every thing he touched you will remember, was a basic thing, was a fundamental thing. He did not waste time, thought or energy over the superficial aspects of our existence. Therefore he took up this subject in his own inimitable way, thinking of it always not as a literary man, though he was a very great literary figure, possibly unknown to himself, but always thinking in terms of the future of the Indian people and the Indian nation, how to build it up brick by brick, so that we can get rid of the evils that pursued us. Whether those evils were foreign domination or poverty, or inequality or discrimination amongst ourselves, or untouchability or the like, he put this question on this same high level and looked upon it from the point of view of a step which might either help us to build a powerful and enlightened India or be a disintegrating or weakening factor.

Now the first thing he taught us was this: that while English is a great language—and I think it is perfectly right to say that English has done us a lot of good and we have learnt much from it and progressed much—nevertheless no nation can become great on the basis of a foreign language. Why? Because a foreign language can never be the language of the people, for you will have two strata or more—those who live in thought and action of a foreign tongue and those who live in another world. So he taught us that we must do our work more and more in our own language.

Partly he succeeded in that, only partly, possibly because of the inherent difficulties of the situation. For it is a fact that in spite of all his teachings and in spite of the efforts of many of the Honourable Members present here who are keen and anxious to push up our own languages the fact is that we continue to do a great deal of our political and other work in the English language. Nevertheless, this is true that we cannot go far or take our people by the million in a foreign

language. Therefore, however great the English language may be—and it is great—we have to think in doing our national work, our public and our private work as far as possible, in our own various languages and more particularly in the language that you may choose for all-India use.

Secondly, he laid stress on the fact that that language should be more a language of the people, not a language of a learned coterie—not that it is not valuable or is not to be respected—we must have learning, we must have poets, great writers and all that; nevertheless, in the modern context, even more than in the past, no language can be great which is divorced from the language of the people. Ultimately a language grows in greatness and strength if there is a proper marriage between those who are learned and the masses of the people. In India—though I am unlearned in those languages—we have two examples: one of Rabindranath Tagore who brought about that marriage in the Bengali language and thereby made that language even greater than it was and more powerful, the other is the example of Gandhiji himself in the Gujarati language. There are, no doubt, others, but these are outstanding figures.

Now, in any language that we seek to adopt as an all-India language, or for the matter of that in any language whether it is all-India or not, we have to keep in mind that we dare not live in an ivory tower of purists and precisionists. Though purists and precisionists in the matter of language have their place and should be there, it is a dangerous thing to allow a language to become the pet child of purists and such like people because then it is cut off from the common people. So you have to have both: certainly a certain precision, a certain profundity, and a certain all-embraciveness in language and at the same time contacts with the people, drawing its sustenance from the common people.

The last thing in this matter to which the Father of the Nation drew our attention was this, that this language should represent the composite culture of India. Insofar as it was the Hindi language it should represent that composite culture which grew up in northern India where the Hindi language specially held sway; it should also represent that composite culture which it drew from other parts of India. Therefore he used the word 'Hindustani' not in any technical sense, but in that broad sense representing that composite language which is both the language of the people and the language of various groups and others in northern India, and to the last he drew the attention of the people and the nation to that. I am a small man and it is rather presumptuous of me to say that I agree with him or do not agree with him, but for the last thirty years or so, in my own humble way, I stood by that creed in regard to language and it would be hard for me if this House asked me to reject that thing by which I have stood nearly all my political life.

Not only that, but I do think that in the interests of India, in the interests of the development of a powerful Indian nation, not an exclusive nation, not a nation trying to isolate itself from the rest of the world but nevertheless aware of itself, conscious of itself, living its own life in conformity and in cooperation with the

rest of the world, that approach of Mahatmaji was the right approach. I should have liked to see somewhat greater emphasis on that in this Resolution, but because of all that has happened, when ultimately this Resolution took shape I accepted it as at any rate in a certain part of it attention is drawn to this fact that I have mentioned. As I have said, I wish it had been more pointedly drawn, nevertheless it is drawn, so I accepted the Resolution. If unfortunately that attention had not been drawn there, then it would have been very difficult for me to accept this Resolution.

Now, we stand on the threshold of many things and this Resolution itself is the beginning of what might be termed a linguistic revolution in India, a very big revolution of far-reaching effects, and we have to be careful that we give it the right direction, the right shape, the right mould lest it goes wrongly and betrays us in wrong directions. Men shape a language, but then that language itself shapes those men and society. It is a question of action and interaction and it may well be said that if a language is a feeble language or an unprecise language, if a language is just an ornate language, you will find those characteristics reflected in the people who use that language. If the language is feeble those people will be rather feeble; if it is just ornate and nothing else they will tend to ornateness. So it is important what direction you give to it. If a language is exclusive those people become exclusive in thought and mind and action.

That is what I meant when I said at the beginning that perhaps behind all this argument and debate there are these different approaches. Which way do you look? As you stand on the threshold of this new age, do you twist your neck back and look backwards all the time, or do you look forward? It is an important question for each one of us to answer because there is, inevitably perhaps, a tendency in this country today to look back far too much. There is no question of our cutting ourselves away from our past. That would be an absurdity and a disaster because all that we are we have been fashioned by that past. We have our roots in that past. If we pull ourselves out of that past, we are rootless. We cannot go far merely by imitating others, but there is such a thing as having your roots in the soil but growing up to the sky above and not always looking down to the soil where your roots are. There is such a thing as marching forward and not turning back all the time. In any event, whether you want it or not, world forces and currents will push you forward but if you are looking back you will stumble and fall repeatedly.

Therefore, that is the fundamental thing in approaching this problem: which way are you looking, backward or forward? People talk about culture, about *Sanskriti*, etc., and rightly, because a nation must have a sound basis of culture to rest itself, and as I have said that culture must inevitably have its roots in the genius of the people and in their past. No amount of copying and imitation however good the other culture may be, will make you truly cultured because you will always be a copy of somebody else. That is admitted. Have your roots in that powerful

and tremendous culture that took shape thousands and thousands of years ago and that took shape powerfully in spite of every attack upon it inside and outside, even in spite of our own failings and decay and degradation, yet it has subsisted and given us some strength. Obviously that must continue. Nevertheless, when you are on the threshold of a new age, to talk always of the past is not a good preparation for entering that portal. Language is one of these issues, there are many others.

There are many types of culture. There is the culture of a nation and of a people which is important for it, there is also the culture of an age, the *Yuga Dharma*, and if you do not align yourself with that culture of the age you are out of step with it. It does not matter how great your culture is if you do not keep step with the culture of the age. That has been the teaching of all the wise men of our country as well as of other countries. There is a national culture. There is an international culture. There is culture which may be said to be—if you like—absolute, unchanging, with certain unchanging ideals about it which must be adhered to. There is a certain changing culture which has no great significance except at the moment or at that particular period or generation or age but it changes and if you stick on to it even though the ages change, then you are backward and you fall out of step with changing humanity. There is the culture of time and the culture of various nations.

Now, whatever might have been the case in the past, in the present—today—there can be no doubt whatever that there is a powerful international culture dominating the world. Call it, if you like, a culture emanating from the machine age, from industry and all the developments of science that have taken place. Is there any Honourable Member present here who thinks that if we do not accept that culture—adapt it if you like, but accept it fundamentally—that we can make much progress merely by repeating old creeds? If I may venture to say, it is because at a previous period of our history we cut ourselves off from the culture of the rest of the world and in this culture I include everything including the art of war—we became backward and we were overborne by others who were not better than us but who were more in step with the culture of the time. They came and swept us away and dominated us repeatedly. The British came and dominated over us. Why? Because in spite of our ancient *Sanskriti* and culture, they represented a higher culture of the day—not in those fundamental and basic things which may be considered eternal, if you like—but in other things, the culture of the age, they were superior to us. They came and swept us away and dominated over us for all this long period.

They have gone. Are we going to think of going back in mind, thought and action to that type of culture which once brought us to slavery? Of course, every Honourable Member will say 'No'. Yet I say this line of thought is intimately related to what I say. It leads you to that. If you look backward, if you talk in the terms in which some Honourable Members have talked today and yesterday, I say it

inevitably leads to that conclusion, and I for one not only hesitate to reach that conclusion but I want to oppose it, because I think it is bad for India. You have—and I have—supreme faith in the Indian people and in the Indian nation. I am convinced that India, in spite of our present difficulties, is going to make progress and go ahead at a fast pace, but if we shackle the feet of India with outworn forms and customs, then who is to blame if India cannot go fast, if India stumbles and falls? That is the fundamental question before us.

Again, look at this language problem from another point of view. Till very recently—in fact, I would say a generation ago—French was the recognized diplomatic and cultural language of Europe and large parts of the earth's surface. There were other great languages—there was English, there was German, there was Italian, there was Spanish—in Europe alone, apart from the Asian languages. Yet French was the language in Europe, certainly of culture and diplomacy. Today it has not got that proud place. But even today, French is most important in diplomacy and public affairs. Nobody objected to French. No Englishman, or Russian, or German or Pole objected to French. So all those other languages were growing and today it might be said that English is perhaps replacing French from that proud place of diplomatic eminence.

Before French, in Europe, the language of diplomacy was Latin just as in India the language of culture and diplomacy for a vast period of time was Sanskrit, not the language of the common people but the language of the learned and the cultured and the language of diplomacy etc. And not only in India, but the effect of that, if you go back to a thousand years, you find in almost all of South East Asia, not to the same extent as in India, but still Sanskrit was the language of the learned even in South East Asia and to some extent even in parts of Central Asia. The House probably knows that the most ancient Sanskrit plays that exist have been found not in India but in Turfan on the edge of the Gobi desert.

After Sanskrit Persian became the language of culture and diplomacy in India and over large parts of Asia—in India due to the fact of changing rule but apart from that, Persian was the diplomatic language of culture over vast parts of Asia. It was called—and it is still called—the “French of the East” because of that. These changes took place while other languages were developing, because of the fact that French in Europe and Persian in Asia were peculiarly suited for this purpose. Therefore, they were adopted by other countries and nations too. India may have adopted it partly because of a certain dominating influence of the new ruler, but in other countries which were not so dominated, they adopted Persian when it was not their language because it was considered as suitable for that purpose. Their languages grew.

We took to English obviously because it was the conqueror's language, not so much because at that time it was such an important language, although it was very important even then—we took to it simply because we were dominated by

the British here, and it opened the doors and windows of foreign thought, foreign science etc., and we learnt much by it. And let us be grateful to the English language for what it has taught us. But at the same time, it created a great gulf between us who knew English and those who did not know English and that was fatal for the progress of a nation. That is a thing which certainly we cannot possibly tolerate today. Hence this problem.

However good, however important, English may be, we cannot tolerate that there should be an English-knowing elite and a large mass of our people not knowing English. Therefore, we must have our language. But English—whether you call it official or whatever you please, it does not matter whether you mention it in the legislation or not—but English must continue to be a most important language in India which large numbers of people learn and perhaps learn compulsorily. Why? Well, English today is far more important in the world than it was when the British came here. It is undoubtedly today the nearest approach to an international language. It is not the international language certainly but it is the biggest and the most widespread language in the world today, and if we want to have contacts with the world as we must, then how are we to have those contacts unless we know foreign languages? I hope many of us will learn other foreign languages, e.g., the Russian language which is a magnificent language, very rich; the Spanish language which may not be quite so important today but is going to be very important tomorrow in the context of a growing South America; the French language which of course always has been and is still important; the German, etc. We will learn all of them no doubt, I hope. But the fact remains that both from the point of view of convenience and from the point of view of utility, English is obviously the most important language for us and many of us know it. It is absurd for us to try to forget what we know or not take advantage of what we have learnt. But it will have to be inevitably a secondary language meant for a relatively restricted number of people.

All these factors have been borne in mind in this amendment that Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar has placed before the House. I do not know what the future will be for this language. But I am quite sure that if we proceed wisely with this Hindi language, if we proceed wisely in two ways, by making it an inclusive language and not an exclusive one, and include in it all the language elements in India which have gone to build up with a streak of Urdu or a mixture of Hindustani—not by the State, remember, but by allowing it to grow normally as it should grow and if, secondly, it is not, if I may say so, forced down upon an unwilling people, I have no doubt it will grow and become a very great language. How far it will push out the use of the English language I do not know; but even if it pushes out English completely from our normal work, nevertheless, English will remain important for us in our world contacts and in the international sphere.

So, to come back to the basic approach to this problem: Is your approach going to be a democratic approach or what might be termed an authoritarian approach?

I venture to put this question to the enthusiasts for Hindi, because in some of the speeches I have listened here and elsewhere there is very much a tone of authoritarianism, very much a tone of the Hindi-speaking area being the centre of things in India, the centre of gravity, and others being just the fringes of India. That is not only an incorrect approach, but it is a dangerous approach. If you consider the question with wisdom, this approach will do more injury to the development of the Hindi language than the other approach. You just cannot force any language down the people or group who resist that. You cannot do it successfully. You know that it is conceivably possible that a foreign conqueror with the strength of the sword might try to do so, but history shows that even he has failed. Certainly in the democratic context of India it is an impossibility. You have to win through the goodwill of those people, those groups in India in the various provinces whose mother tongue is not Hindi. You have to win the goodwill of those groups who speak, let us say, some variation of Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani. If you try, whether you win or not, if you do something which appears to the others as an authoritarian attempt to dominate and to force down something then you will fail in your endeavour.

Now may I say a word or two about this business of Hindustani and Urdu and Hindi. We have accepted in this amendment the word 'Hindi'. I have no objection to the word 'Hindi'. I like it. I was a little afraid that it might signify some constricted and restricted meaning to the others. I was afraid about this. I thought the word 'Hindi', which I like, might appeal to others also. I know, many Honourable Members here know, and persons coming from the United Provinces know, that they can with a fair measure of facility speak in what might be called Urdu and can speak with equal facility and flow in what might be called fairly pure Hindi. They can do both. It is rather interesting and it is right that we should know both, with the result that they have got a rich and fine vocabulary. I do not know whether your experience has been the same or not. We find that in a particular subject or type of subjects we speak better in Hindi than in Urdu and in another type of subjects Urdu suits us better; it suits the genius of that subject a little better. My point is that I want both these instruments which strengthen Hindi that is going to be developed as our official and national language of the country. Let us keep in touch with the people. That is a good practice. If you do that, then you will keep all the other avenues open. Then the language develops. Without any sense of pressure from anybody, without any sense of coercion, it takes shape in the minds of millions of people. They gradually mould it and give it shape.

Take the question of numerals. I shall be very frank with you. I have never before looked into this question. But when it did come up before me and when I did give thought to it, I was immediately convinced that the right approach was to keep these numerals, Indian in origin, but which have taken a certain form, which are used internationally. I was quite convinced of that. But mind you, nobody is banning the use of Hindi numerals. They can be used whenever anybody wants

them, but in official use where all kinds of statistics on banking and auditing and census and other columns of figures come in, it is not only an undoubted advantage that these international numerals should be used, but there are also other advantages. These numerals remove at least one major barrier between you and the other countries. That is a very important thing in these days when numerals count for so much in the development of science and the application of science. As I said, you can use Hindi numerals. Anyone who learns can read the Hindi numerals and write them whenever he likes. But officially if you try to think in terms of limiting the use of these international numerals for official purposes, as I have mentioned, you will land yourself in difficulty.

Now what is your objection to this? Do you want India to progress rapidly in the sciences and art of the modern day? I can say with conviction that if we do not use these international numerals for these purposes we would fall back. We would put a tremendous burden on the children's minds and the grown-ups' minds and our work will increase tremendously in our offices and elsewhere, and that work will be cut off from the rest of the world. So, from every practical point of view, and it is desirable even from the sentimental point of view—we are not adopting anything foreign; we are adopting something of our own which is slightly varied—and from the point of view of printing, it helps. Perhaps many Honourable Members here have something to do with newspapers and printing. I ask you, is it not a fact that it is far easier from the point of view of composing and printing to use these numerals than the Hindi numerals?

I submit that the fact that we have got rather stuck over the numerals issue has certain importance, again from that basic fundamental point of view of which way we are looking. For my part, I know the Hindi numerals, I can read and write them quite easily and so there is no difficulty so far as I am concerned. But from the way this controversy has developed, this argument has developed, here and elsewhere, more and more I have been made to think that behind this controversy is this different approach. This is the approach of looking back on science, on everything that science and the modern world signify. It is backward looking. It is an approach which will prevent us from becoming a great nation for which we have worked and dreamt.

We stand on the threshold of a new age. Therefore it is important that we should have this picture of India clearly in our minds. What sort of India do we want? Do we want a modern India—with its roots steeped in the past certainly insofar as it inspires us—do we want a modern India with modern science and all the rest of it, or do we want to live in some ancient age, in some other age which has no relation to the present? You have to choose between the two. It is a question of approach. You have to choose whether you look forward or backward.

LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTIC PROVINCES

II. East Punjab Language Question

1. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi
September 9, 1949

My dear Sachar,

I wrote to you² briefly about your language proposals.³ I have since given much more thought to them and have consulted Sardar Patel also. There are many features in these proposals which are an improvement on any previous approach. But there is also much in them which is complicated and it is not clear to me how it will work out. I have informally consulted some of the Punjab Members in the Constituent Assembly here and they have reacted very much against these proposals. Logically many of their arguments are sound and if I can write on a clean slate, I would undoubtedly give effect to much that they say. But none of us can write on a clean slate and I recognize your difficulty.

So far as we are concerned, we are prepared to agree to anything which is generally agreed upon in East Punjab. A mere agreement in the Cabinet does not take us very far if your Assembly does not support it fully and if the bulk of public opinion also does not agree with it.

I cannot understand what happens to a student after the fourth class when he may have suddenly to shift to another script and language. Nor do I understand what happens after matriculation. I take it that Gurmukhi is certainly not advanced enough to be a medium of instruction after matriculation. A student who has been brought up in Gurmukhi till matriculation will thus suddenly be confronted by a new script and partly new language. He may of course know this language but will he know it sufficiently well?

Then there is the question of private schools and girls' schools.

I have been receiving information about trouble in the Patiala Union where Gurmukhi has been imposed without option. I understand that many schools are closed and there is a hartal. Because of this I feel that we must proceed rather cautiously and gauge public opinion before finalizing any proposal...

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

2. On 11 July 1949. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 12, p. 171.

3. The proposals envisaged Government's recognition of Punjabi in Gurmukhi script; East Punjab be divided into two distinct regions on a linguistic basis; Punjabi be the medium of instruction in the Punjabi-speaking region of the province and Hindi in the other upto the fifth class with Punjabi and Hindi as second language in both the areas from the fourth class onwards; and continuance of English and Urdu as official and court languages.

2. To C.M. Trivedi¹

New Delhi
September 9, 1949

My dear Trivedi,²

As you know, sometime back your Premier sent me certain proposals for decision on the language controversy in East Punjab. These proposals seemed to me an improvement on the previous approach to the problem. But, nevertheless, they were rather complicated and it was not easy for me to grasp their full import. Looking at the problem rationally and without any political or communal bias, the desire to perpetuate and spread out the Gurmukhi script is not on the face of it, desirable. There is a tendency all over India, strongly represented in the Constituent Assembly, to evolve a common script largely based on Devanagari, for Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi and like languages. Indeed the proposal goes so far as to bring in the southern Dravidian languages also within its scope. I do not think, however, that much can be done in that respect for some time to come.

Now, Bengali, Gujarati and Marathi are highly developed languages and scripts in many ways, in no way inferior and sometimes even superior to Hindi. Obviously Punjabi and Gurmukhi are not in this class. There is hardly any literature in Gurmukhi, so far as I know, except some sacred literature. Recently, I believe some kind of translations have been made. But it is not in this way that a language or a script grows suddenly. I have little doubt that the attempt to impose and spread out Gurmukhi will be a burden on the student, coming in the way of his mental growth. I am also almost sure that in the long run this attempt will not succeed for eminently practical reasons. After all the main consideration should be how to promote the mental growth of the student. The people of the Punjab might well be handicapped by being tied down to Gurmukhi.

However valid these reasons might be, there are political and other reasons which compel us to consider this problem from other points of view. Hence this difficulty. The Working Committee resolution as well as certain decisions on language by our Education Ministry have gone a long way to deal with the language question in India. They may be applied to Punjab, but they really were meant to apply to very distinctive languages like Bengali or Gujarati or Hindi or Tamil and not to local variations.

However all this may be, we are prepared to accept generally any real agreement that may be arrived at in East Punjab between the Hindus and the Sikhs. It is certainly a step forward for the Cabinet to agree. The next step would be for the members of the Assembly to agree. And of course this agreement should carry a fair amount of support in the province. Whether all this is available or not I do not know and I should like your own opinion on this subject.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. He was Governor of East Punjab, 1947-53.

I consulted Bakshi Tek Chand on this issue. I have shown him the proposals of the East Punjab Cabinet. He, in his turn, consulted the other Hindu members of the Constituent Assembly. He has presented me with a note, a copy of which I enclose. This note is an argument for the rejection of the proposals as they stand. So there we are.

In the proposals, it is not clear to me what happens that after the fourth class, the student who has taken to one language may suddenly have to shift over to another. Then again, what happens after matriculation? A person who has studied in Gurmukhi may not be able to continue that at a later stage simply because of the lack of material and facilities in Gurmukhi.

Particular attention has been drawn to private schools and more specially the girls' schools. In the latter apparently there is no Gurmukhi at all thus far and it might become a complete imposition.

My attention has been drawn to what is happening in the Patiala Union now, where Gurmukhi has been laid down for all schools without option. The result has been some kind of an upheaval and many schools are closed and there are hartals, etc.

I am told that *The Statesman* has published the Punjab Government's proposal on language in this morning's issue. I have not seen this myself yet. Some correspondent at Ludhiana has sent them to the paper. If these have been published, then there is likely to be a fairly virulent controversy on this subject.

I wrote to you some time back asking your opinion about these proposals. I have had no answer yet. I should like you to guide me. Anxious as we are to solve this problem, we do not wish to take a false step in a hurry which might well land us in further difficulty.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
September 19, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

... My Punjab tour was remarkably successful. I went to Punjab after a full year or more and I must say that I found a great improvement in the situation. There

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

was normality and the government machine functioning. Among the people there was no sense of tension, as there was previously and no fear of war with Pakistan. Generally things were settling down. Of course there were plenty of problems and plenty of complaints. Enormous crowds came to my meetings and stood by the roadside.

I was told that the Hindu-Sikh situation was not very good. But I had no particular evidence of this, which I could personally notice.

I discussed the language issue with Trivedi. He was of opinion that the formula evolved by the East Punjab Cabinet was, taking it all in all, good and should be accepted. The alternative to not accepting it was a great deal of trouble with the Sikhs. Today in Ambala I heard—the information was not accurate—that sixty members of the Punjab Assembly had expressed their agreement with the formula, and that a few others were neutral. The total membership is eighty two. Whether this is correct or not, I do not know. But if it is so, then it does indicate a large measure of agreement. The Cabinet apparently supports the formula unanimously. Trivedi has sent for Bakshi Tek Chand and others to discuss this matter at Simla on the 25th or 26th of this month. He hopes to convince them that their fears are not justified and that the formula should be accepted. He has promised to write fully after this consultation, so that we ought to hear on the 27th or, at the latest, the 28th. He was anxious that we should come to a final decision before I left for America. Gianī Kartar Singh also came to me and said that a decision should be arrived at before the end of this month. Delay might lead to hardening on either side.

I was repeatedly asked, in the course of my tour, about Master Tara Singh's release. Both Sikhs and Hindus pressed for it. Trivedi also said that it would be better to release him soon, but he added that it would be desirable to settle the language matter first and then release him. He wanted both of these things to be done fairly soon....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Settlement of the Language Issue¹

The Cabinet of the East Punjab Government referred the language question in East

1. Joint statement by Nehru and Patel, issued to the press on 2 October 1949. From the *National Herald*, 3 October 1949.

Punjab to us.² We suggested to them that it was for their Government to formulate proposals which would carry as great a measure of approval in the province as possible and which should not offend against any principles laid down by the Congress Working Committee³ or the Government. We have now been shown certain proposals, which represent the unanimous view of the East Punjab Cabinet.

Further, we are informed that a large majority of the members of the East Punjab Assembly approve of them. We do not think that these proposals are contrary to the basic policy of the Congress or the Government. In view of the general agreement arrived at the East Punjab on this issue, we record our approval of this agreement, as embodied in these proposals. We trust that they will be accepted by all concerned in a spirit of friendly cooperation.

The Government, according to the proposals, reserve the right to issue further necessary directions, to meet unforeseen situations arising out of the demand for imparting education in a language other than the regional language.

In an unaided recognized school, the medium of instruction will be determined by the management. It will not be obligatory on them to provide facilities for instruction in any other medium, but it will be incumbent on them to provide for the teaching of Punjabi or Hindi, as the case may be, as a second language.

Punjabi shall be the medium of instruction in the Punjabi-speaking area in all schools up to the matriculation stage, and Hindi shall be taught as a compulsory language from the last class of the primary department and up to the matriculation stage. But in the case of girls, Hindi shall be compulsory in girls' schools in the middle classes only.

This order will be reversed in the case of the Hindi-speaking area, where Hindi shall be the medium of instruction up to the matriculation stage and Punjabi taught as a compulsory language from the last class of the primary department and up to the matriculation stage. But in the case of girls, Punjabi shall be compulsory in girls' schools in the middle classes only.

2. The new formula suggested Punjabi as the regional language for the Punjabi-speaking area and Hindi for the Hindi-speaking area, and such areas were to be determined by Provincial Government on expert advice. English and Urdu, for the present, were to continue as official and court languages to be progressively replaced by Hindi and Punjabi in the light of the Working Committee's resolution.
3. The resolution of 5 August 1949 spelled out that the language question in provinces and States had to be considered from two points of view: educational and administrative, and emphasized the importance of preservation of rich literature in regional languages. It termed regions with more than one language as bilingual areas and called for the demarcation of such areas within a province or a State. It stated that for administrative purposes regional languages were progressively to replace English, and for educational purposes suggested instruction in mother tongue at primary and secondary levels, study of all-India State language as a second language at secondary level, and study in provincial languages at the university level. It also stated that Urdu should be one of the languages concerned.

Punjabi, according to the formula, shall mean Punjabi in the Gurmukhi script and Hindi shall mean Hindi in the Devanagari script.

These proposals do not apply to those pupils whose mother tongue is neither Punjabi nor Hindi. Suitable arrangements will be made for the education of such pupils in their mother tongue if there is a sufficient number of such pupils at one place to make these arrangements possible.

LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTIC PROVINCES

III. Linguistic Provinces

1. On Linguistic Provinces¹

I have recently received three deputations—a Andhra deputation led by Shri Ramamurti,² a deputation of the Tamil members of the Constituent Assembly,³ and a deputation⁴ of the Andhra Mahasabha.⁵ All these addressed me in language of varying strength in regard to the Andhra Province.

I shall not go into these arguments. But I am convinced now even more than I was before that the report of the three-man committee appointed by the Jaipur Congress⁶ is correct. That report suggests the postponement of the partitioning of provinces for a more favourable time. It further suggests that if there is agreement between the parties concerned, further steps can be taken without much difficulty. But it is not possible or desirable for us to exercise compulsion on any considerable group in order to please another considerable group. Thus in the immediate present progress in regard to this matter can only be by consent of the parties concerned.

This report of the three-man committee was accepted by the Congress Working Committee. It was also accepted by the Government of India. These two facts must be borne in mind, because it is curious for Congressmen to go on challenging something which has been accepted by the Working Committee after careful consideration.

Devaluation and the problems following from it have made the economic situation graver and therefore any step of a separatist or disruptive kind is to be deprecated even more at present. We have a hard fight to put up and we should not make it harder.

I suggest that this note of mine may be read out either in the Working Committee or at the Party meeting whenever this question of linguistic provinces arises.

1. Note to Vallabhbhai Patel and Satyanarayan Sinha, 2 October 1949. File No. 7(98)/48-PMS.
2. P. Ramamurti, (1909-1987); a prominent Congressman and trade union leader; member, Rajya Sabha, 1960-66 and elected to Lok Sabha, 1967.
3. On 16 September, eleven members of the Constituent Assembly from the Tamil-speaking areas had reiterated their view that the Andhras could not stake any claim to the city of Madras.
4. On 20 September 1949, the deputation demanded immediate formation of the Andhra province on the lines suggested by the Linguistic Sub-Committee of the A.I.C.C., and stated that they agreed to give up their claim to the city of Madras.
5. The Andhra Mahasabha was founded in 1913 for the creation of a separate Andhra province.
6. The committee appointed in December 1948 submitted its report to the Congress in April 1949.

PROVINCIAL MATTERS

I. The East Punjab

1. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

New Delhi
August 31, 1949

My dear Sachar,

I have your D.O.No. 98 of August 27 regarding the transfer of Sachdev.² I have nothing further to say about this matter and I do not wish to go into the merits. The simple fact that strikes me as most peculiar is that the advice I gave you in common with the Governor about giving leave to Sachdev was not accepted by you. There was no question of discipline or anything else involved in this. I am naturally embarrassed, as the Governor must be, because of this development and I can hardly advise you in future, when my advice has such little weight with you.

As I have written to you previously, in these circumstances, I am unable to visit East Punjab and you will please cancel my proposed tour.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Bhimsen Sachar Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Mulk Raj Sachdev.

2. To Lady Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
September 19, 1949

My dear Lady Mountbatten,

I returned from my three-day Punjab tour this evening. It was a tumultuous affair and vast crowds gathered all over the place. On the whole I was impressed by the progress made there. There was an air of normality which I had not noticed before. The people were full of complaints, but those complaints were, if I might call them so, normal. The pathological state of mind, which existed previously, was not much in evidence. On the other side of the border however, that is in Pakistan, this state of mind is very much in evidence. Newspapers and speeches there are full of it.

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

I was pleased to find in Ludhiana District that several thousands of Muslims had been invited to come back to their old homes by local village folk. They had returned and taken possession of their old houses and lands. Evidently the local people preferred them to the unknown refugees, who might be thrust upon them. There is also a tendency to get back craftsmen and others who are needed in the villages.

On my return today I received two letters from you—one from Malta but posted presumably in Rome, dated 9th September, the other dated September 12th from your Villa in Alpes Maritimes. You ask in one of these letters why leaders of communal organisations should be released, when others are not. There is of course a risk in releasing these people. But it is difficult and improper to keep large numbers in prison, when they openly disavow all violent activities. Their presence is certainly an incitement to trouble, but outwardly they behave or have behaved till now.

So far as the Communists are concerned, our difficulty is that they go on advocating something in the nature of violent rebellion and sabotage and indulge in it, whenever opportunity offers. People who are released go underground and carry on these activities from there. It is almost in the nature of a war. It is true that this has been limited greatly, chiefly because of the action taken. The word, 'Communist', is perhaps vaguely used in this connection. Many people take advantage of the Communist cloak to carry out acts of private vengeance. Murders have taken place in large numbers. The other day the *New Statesman* came out with a fantastic figure of Communist detainees in India. I believe it mentioned 1,00,000 or 2,00,000. I think the total number of all detainees, including Communists, is about 7,000. Most of these are in Hyderabad state, where these murders have mostly taken place.

At one of my meetings in the Punjab at Ferozepur, an incident happened. The audience was a very large one, about 50,000 or 60,000. A small group tried to create trouble and upset the meeting. It consisted of about five or six persons. They put up in the middle of the audience the Hammer and Sickle Flag. Some of their neighbours objected to this and tried to pull down the flag. Thereupon they started hitting out at everybody with *lathis*. Naturally there was some disturbance in that huge crowd. I was able to control it from my platform. A police officer went there, while they were hitting out. One of these men attacked him with a knife and made a deep cut in his neck. Another man at the same time tried to take away his revolver. He managed to hold on to his revolver and shot down the man with the knife. The meeting proceeded. This kind of attack has no logic or reason behind it and it infuriates the people...

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To Gopichand Bhargava¹

New Delhi
October 1, 1949

My dear Gopichandji,²

Your letter of September 30th reached me this afternoon. I shall not, and indeed I cannot, enter into the intricacies of Punjab politics. All I can say is to repeat what I told Bhimsen Sachar, and indeed what I told the East Punjab Cabinet at Ambala. I am quite convinced that East Punjab requires stability and continuity and anything resulting in upsetting this will have very serious results. Indeed I rather doubt if ministries will be able to function there at all, whatever their complexion. We are going through a transitional period and in another year or a little more, we shall have a general election. What happens during these few months is not very important, what happens at the general election is of very great importance. Therefore we must carry on with anyone for the present and avoid any kind of disruption. This may be rather platitudinous advice, but nevertheless it is good advice.

I am not aware that Sachar has approached the Parliamentary Board with any request, much less a request to dissolve the composite ministry.

The real matter is that there is a great deal of suspicion all round and suspicion breeds difficulties. The only way to proceed is to have frank talks.

I am glad to learn that you have arrived at a compromise formula about the language question.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. He was the Minister for Finance, Education and Public Health in the Ministry headed by Bhimsen Sachar.

PROVINCIAL MATTERS
II. West Bengal

1. Allegations against West Bengal Ministry¹

... I have now read through these papers.² In most cases they afford an adequate explanation. In some cases it is difficult for me to form any opinion with the data before me. Indeed it is a difficult matter for anyone to enquire into rather vague charges. Also, it is not easy to draw a line between improper favouritism and nepotism on the one hand and the proper exercise of one's discretion in selecting a person. It may be, and it often happens, that the selection is influenced unconsciously by a certain partiality or more intimate acquaintance. It would be absurd to rule out such selections or appointments. Therefore there has to be some definite indication or proof of improper selection or encouragement of nepotism.

It is essential for governments and for public men to be vigilant in regard to public affairs, more especially where public money is involved. They have to be judged by high standards. At the same time we have to be equally vigilant in preventing vague charges being made, which have little foundation or basis in truth. There has been far too much of a tendency to make such charges against people in authority. It is not easy to check this tendency from the public generally. But responsible public men and newspapers are certainly expected to refrain from making or repeating any charge which has not got *prima facie* justification. Even so, the proper course is to endeavour to find out the facts from the authority concerned and then to come to any conclusion....

An attempt to root out corruption and like evils in public life is to be encouraged. But when publicity is given to charges which may or may not have any basis in fact, the natural inference is that the motive is not so much to put an end to wrong doing but rather to injure the reputation of some individual, group or organizations.

There are seventeen allegations, some of them being divided up into a number of individual cases. I have gone into these as carefully as I could with the material before me. I have come to the conclusion that in regard to some of these allegations, the explanation given is satisfactory. What I have to consider is not whether any particular action taken was wise or not. Opinions may differ about that and a person in authority has to exercise his discretion which may sometimes turn out to be not happy in its results. I have to consider whether that exercise of discretion

1. Note to the Congress Working Committee, New Delhi, 21 August 1949. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.
2. These related to allegations against the West Bengal Government by some Congress M.L.As. and the Government's replies.

was on the face of it improper or not. In regard to allegations No. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17, I find the explanation and the facts given generally satisfactory from this point of view...

Allegation No. 13: Police firing. This is a big and complicated subject which concerns policy and can hardly be dealt with in the list of these charges and allegations. There is no doubt that the West Bengal Government have had to face a very serious situation, when certain anti-social elements have been deliberately trying to create disorder on a big scale. They have used bombs and acid bulbs and the like. It is little good going into the causes of this kind of situation, because this will lead to a long enquiry into the past, both in Bengal and in India as a whole. Certainly the present Ministry of West Bengal can hardly be held responsible for all that has happened in West Bengal as a result of political and economic and other happenings.

The question that arises in this connection is whether a particular firing in the street or inside the jails was justified or not. The decision has to be made on the spot by the police officer or magistrate who may be there. The Government as a whole cannot influence that decision at the moment. They can issue general instructions previously as to how to deal with the situation, and they can enquire into it afterwards. It is also to be remembered that in a tense and difficult situation when a riotous crowd attacks the police with bombs, the police cannot function very coolly and calmly. They suffer under a grave nervous tension and are apt to be trigger-conscious.

So far as Government is concerned, I think in all such cases a proper enquiry was called for. I am sorry that such an enquiry was not held soon after the firing itself. A departmental enquiry was held then, but it would have been better if an impartial enquiry followed it. Such an enquiry is desirable not only from the point of view of the public but also of the police. I understand that the West Bengal Government have decided that, should it be unfortunately necessary for any such firing to take place in future, it will be followed by an enquiry.

The question whether there should be an enquiry into the firing mentioned in this charge has become rather a complicated one now, partly because of the time that has elapsed and partly because of a coroner's enquiry that has taken place....

2. To J.C. Gupta¹

New Delhi

September 10, 1949

My dear Gupta,²

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of the 1st September.

I was distressed to find that publicity had been given to the statement of charges that you had given me. Naturally I could not trace the culprit. But it is a justifiable presumption that he was someone who did not like the present Ministry in West Bengal.

I can only say that I am sorry if you think that my note on your charges appears to you to be a laboured defence of the Ministry. I am not particularly interested in the Ministry or any group or individual in Bengal, except that it seems to me a tragic fact that there is no one who is big enough to face Bengal's problems, or to subordinate himself or his group to the good of Bengal or India. The prevailing impression that I carried away from Bengal was an intensity of personal rivalry which was astonishing.

I do not think it will be proper for me to send you copies of papers which I received from the Ministry. Many of these papers are secret papers and in any event I see no reason why I should broadcast them. My opinion was asked for and I gave it on the data before me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. (1886-1972); Congressman from Calcutta.

PROVINCIAL MATTERS
III. The United Provinces

1. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

Allahabad

September 4, 1949

My dear Pantji,

I have been much surprised and a little distressed to learn of the action taken by the local authorities in Lucknow and Banaras in regard to anti-R.S.S. demonstrations. I do not know all the facts, but the impression created on the general public is not a good one and many people think that the Government is, in some way, prepared to encourage the R.S.S. Of course the local authorities have to think of the maintenance of peace. But subject to that there appears to be no reason why there should not be freedom to demonstrate against the R.S.S. To arrest people and lathi-charge them etc., for wanting to demonstrate against the R.S.S. appears to me to carry things too far. Indeed why a ban at all? What is required is to prevent any kind of clash.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

LETTERS TO THE PREMIERS OF PROVINCES

New Delhi
September 2, 1949

My dear Premier,

"Time and the world are ever in flight"² and we try vainly to keep up with them. Events follow each other relentlessly and problem piles upon problem. Sometimes one feels a little dispirited at being the slave, to a large extent, of events and external occurrences which should easily be controlled; at other times one has a certain feeling of excitement and exhilaration at having to wrestle with difficulties and in trying to overcome them with more or less success. Much depends upon the temperament of the individual or the mood of the moment. Great difficulties and perils often draw out an individual and a nation and the very hour of peril becomes the moment of victory. Smaller difficulties and obstructions usually embarrass much more and even produce occasionally a sense of frustration. It is not perhaps the problem or the difficulty that counts so much as the mental approach to it. There are occasions when a whole nation rises to heights of endeavour and performs miracles. There are also occasions when a spirit of lassitude creeps over one and paralyses mental and physical activity. We have had a long history and uncounted centuries lie behind us, having shaped us for what we are. During this vast period we have had experience of all these various moods of elation and depression, of high and brave endeavour and of static passivity or something even worse. Even during our lifetime we have experienced all this. When perils have confronted us, we have faced them with courage and then we have relapsed and allowed events to take their course, often a wrong course. What fate and determinism may have to do with human destiny is a matter for philosophers to argue. But men and women who have ideals and objectives before them and the urge to achieve them, do not wait for the turn of fortune's wheel. Nor do they seek anchorage in some kind of security which eludes them, as in a rapidly changing world it must. They try to be, to the best of their ability, moulders of destiny and not the pitiful object of an unkind fate.

2. I am driven to these observations as I sit down to write this fortnightly letter to you and survey both the Indian scene and the world scene. What a mess the world is in and India, and yet everywhere one sees bright points of light, men and

1. File No.25(6)-49/PMS. The letters in this section have also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru—Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 1, (New Delhi, 1985), pp. 448-479.
2. From 'Into the Twilight', a poem by W.B. Yeats.

women of integrity and purpose and strength of will who are out to achieve some great purpose. To a casual onlooker the widespread dark patches might seem overwhelming, and yet it is those spots of light that count and each one of us can add to the gloom or to the light. Unhappily most of us spend our time and our energy in looking at others and criticizing them, instead of tending our own little light. It is so easy to emphasize the evil that surrounds us, but in the very act of doing so we add to it. We cannot and must not ignore it, for that would be folly. But while recognizing it, we have to feel strong enough to overcome it. That can only be so, if we hold to some basic ideals and objectives and have faith in them. Any task that is big enough takes a lot of doing; anything that is worthwhile must be achieved by great effort, otherwise it is trivial and of little moment.

3. In the world today many things are happening and changes and upheavals come daily. In China the Communist armies march rapidly towards Canton, the great city of the south, and it appears that there is nothing to stop them effectively.³ Probably, in a reasonably short time, some kind of a Central Government will be established by the Chinese Communists and this will control a very great part of China. Hong Kong is likely to continue as a British outpost at least for the present. The island of Formosa also will remain outside the Chinese Communists' domain. There may also be other pockets in the interior. At The Hague the round table conference to decide the fate of Indonesia is being held.⁴ On the whole the progress made has not been unsatisfactory, though difficulties crop up at every stage and there are many hurdles to be crossed. At Strasbourg a European Assembly has met slowly groping its way towards some kind of a European confederation.⁵ The tension between Russia and Yugoslavia has grown and people have even talked of a conflict that is more than verbal.⁶ In Burma the Government

3. In fact, Canton (Guangzhou) was occupied by the Communists on 14 October 1949.
4. The Hague Conference held from 23 August to 2 November 1949 was attended by 120 delegates representing the Netherlands Government, the Indonesian Republic, the Federalist territories, and the U.N. Indonesian Commission. The Conference led to a definitive political settlement whereby the Netherlands transferred full political sovereignty on 27 December 1949 to the United States of Indonesia with a republican and federal form of government.
5. On 3 August, the Council of Europe formally came into existence and its first session was inaugurated at Strasbourg on 10 August 1949.
6. The Soviet Government, on 11 August 1949, denied the Yugoslav charge of 3 August that they had been resisting Yugoslavia's territorial claims to Slovenia and Carinthia, and instead accused Yugoslavia of "backstairs negotiations" with Britain. Thereafter both countries accused each other of persecuting their countrymen who had been arrested on some charges. Finally, on 2 September, the Yugoslav Government cancelled their agreement with the Soviet Union for joint ventures in civil aviation and river navigation.

forces slowly make progress.⁷ We have just had the visit of the Burmese Foreign Minister⁸ to Delhi on his way back from Europe and America.⁹

4. In India the new Constitution is bravely trying to keep up its head in an ocean of words and speeches. All our time-tables are upset by this flow of eloquence and debate and no one quite knows how long this session of the Constituent Assembly will last. At present it is hoped to finish it by the 22nd September, by which time the second reading should be over. The third reading will have to take place probably in November. In any event the new Republic of India must begin its fateful career on the 26th of January next.

5. In the Constituent Assembly a great deal of excitement has been caused over the language issue.¹⁰ Perhaps by the time you get this letter, some decision will have been arrived at. In this and other matters it is the approach that counts. Are we dealing with our problems with vision and broadmindedness and tolerance and keeping in view the varied aspects and culture of India? Or are we swept away by rather narrow nationalistic or provincial or communal considerations? Our present difficulties will pass, but if we start our new career in a narrow cage of thought and feeling, our growth will be restricted.

6. There have been talks on what is called leftist unity. They have apparently not succeeded.¹¹ Any healthy development of what might be called leftism or a responsible opposition should, I think, be welcomed. It will be good for the country and it will keep all of us up to the mark. But, unfortunately, what is called leftism is often enough some kind of a mixture of vague theory or adventurism or the opportunism of the moment. It does not seem to be inspired by the great ideals which have moved masses or taken the individual to the stake. It thinks in terms of elections and of opportunist combinations of ill-assorted people for the sake of winning an election. Very odd combinations are often to be seen. We have noticed people who are or ought to be completely opposed to one another joining up in opposition to the Congress. Whatever the faults and failings of the Congress, and

7. It was reported that the Burmese forces were regaining control of areas which were in occupation of Karen and other rebels. For Karen rebellion see also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 12, pp. 406-407.

8. U E. Maung (b.1898); Advocate-General of Burma, 1945; Prosecutor at International Military Tribunal, Tokyo, 1946; Judge of the Supreme Court and Chief Justice, 1948-49; Foreign Minister, 1949; Election Commissioner, 1951.

9. On 1 September 1949.

10. See *ante*, pp. 146-155.

11. On 28 August 1949, the Socialist Party announced its decision of not supporting Sarat Chandra Bose's plea for the formation of a joint front of the leftists. The Socialist Party was insisting on merging of all parties into a single party while other groups insisted on forming a joint front. Later, eighteen left-wing organizations formed a joint front called the Bhartiya Samyukta Samajvadi Sabha (United Socialist Organization of India).

there are many, it still holds the field in India and will continue to hold because it has some virtues also. Any leftism that is based on opposition and adventurism may succeed here and there for the moment, but will otherwise make little difference to the main current of events. Leftism is not just something in the air, but something which is both based on ideals and on reality.

7. There is a spate of criticism of the Congress in which Congressmen have joined with vigour.¹² We are peculiarly liable to self-criticism and I think that is not a bad trait, within limitations. We are also sometimes peculiarly liable to faction, and that can seldom be good. How can we preserve the proper balance of criticism and self-criticism on the one hand, and of a true appreciation of happenings on the other? Merely negative criticism will do little good and irresponsible condemnation can only develop irresponsibility further. No great work can be done in an atmosphere of irresponsibility.

8. The economic situation in India is obviously a difficult one. There is financial stringency and we have to be very careful as to how we spend public money. It is even more important that we should frame policies which cut at the root of our present economic evils. We have to be vigilant and there is no doubt that governmental machines tend to be wasteful and slow-moving and inefficient. At the same time, it seems to me factually wrong and psychologically still more wrong to cry loudly about our parlous state. It is not in a parlous condition. Let us be clear about this in spite of all our difficulties. We have got into a tangle where money unfortunately, and those who control money, can make a difference to our lives. But money, however useful in the modern world, is not of ultimate importance. It is the men and women who create money and the necessities of life, that are of importance. We shall get over the troubles caused by money or the lack of money, if we think a little more of the things that count in life.

9. Our Grow-More-Food Campaign is gathering weight. I need not repeat to you what I have said previously except to remind you that this is our main battle-front today. We have plenty of projects and schemes. But behind all those there must be a crusading enthusiasm in the public mind. I suggest that our young men and women and boys and girls in colleges and schools should take this up. They can do so in many ways. Batches of them can go to the villages to help in various kinds of labour and in doing so, educate themselves and come into intimate contact with the people, who are the backbone of our nation. They can help in making compost which is so essential for us. Our food production branch of the Ministry of Agriculture will gladly supply to schools and universities necessary literature for this purpose. I think that we should utilize this opportunity not only for growing more food but for turning our education in a new direction where the work in the

12. For example, the Congress Party in the Constituent Assembly decided to take disciplinary action against H.V. Kamath and Shibbanlal Saxena for challenging Party whip and for criticizing Government and Congress policies.

class-room and laboratory is married to practical experience in the fields. Whether that produces immediate results in food production or not, I do not know. But it will certainly produce marked results in the boys and girls. Boys and girls in rural schools can do this with ease and advantage. But even city students can do their bit.

10. I suggest that every school and college should set aside sometime for the consideration of this food problem including food habits. In this way we can effectively change some of our food habits which have not been good. We all know that under stress of war-time emergency in England the habits of the people were changed for the better in spite of food scarcity.

11. We have to retrench and save money in many ways. This is desirable also from the point of view of applying that money or personnel and material for work in connection with Grow-More-Food Campaign. Thus the Government of the U.P. have retrenched a large sum of money from the building programme, releasing thereby material and personnel for minor irrigation works. Subsidiary foods like sweet potatoes etc., have to be encouraged and made a part of rationing.

12. I have mentioned above that education might be given a new bent through our Grow-More-Food Campaign. The whole question of university education has recently been considered by the Universities Commission of which Dr Radhakrishnan was Chairman. The report will soon be out and I would invite your attention to it. This Commission was composed of very eminent educationists from India, the United States and England. They have done a remarkably good piece of work in a short time. The Chairman gave some idea of their recommendations in a press conference. They have pointed out the evils of tying up our examination system with Government appointments. These examinations of ours and the education that lies behind them are looked upon just as stepping stones to employment by Government. Nothing could be worse for education. Our universities turn out tens of thousands of graduates who do not know what to do and appear to be incapable of doing anything except in some office. Our education has been described, perhaps a little uncharitably, as a training for unemployment. That may be an exaggeration. But there is a great deal of truth in it. So it is suggested that university examinations should be completely divorced from official appointments for which there should be separate tests.

13. One other matter to which I attach great importance and about which I think I have previously written to you, is the necessity of some kind of manual labour for each student. I think it would be a good thing if every graduate, before he got his degree, was expected to put in a full year's labour in a factory or field or some other place. It might be some kind of social work. This is not a novel idea, as something like this has been tried with success in other countries. Many countries go in for conscription for military service. Why should we not have conscription for social service and labour? That would include of course some kind of elementary military training without arms. That discipline is badly needed in this country.

14. I presume you have seen the resolutions passed by the Provincial Education Ministers' Conference¹³ which was held recently in Delhi, more particularly the resolution on the use of the mother tongue in the junior basic classes. This resolution, taken together with the Congress Working Committee's resolution on language, lays down an effective language policy for our schools and colleges. If these directions are followed closely, many of the inter-provincial conflicts in bilingual areas will disappear.

15. I should also like to draw your attention to a recent conference¹⁴ held in Delhi at the instance of our Education Minister, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, to promote cultural cooperation among Asian nations. This is a good beginning and India is eminently suited for this task.

16. There has been a great deal of talk of depression in the economic field. In the United States of America it is called by the politer word, recession. There is undoubtedly an economic and financial upset in many parts of the world, partly due to post-War conditions, partly to our adhering to systems which are out of place in the modern world. While there is this difficulty here in India also, we must remember that we cannot get over it by patch-work efforts. More basic remedies have to be sought. In any event, this is just the time when we must encourage all productive effort in industry. Big-scale industry requires a lot of money and time. We may not have enough money for these ambitious schemes. But it is always possible to start a large number of small-scale and cottage industries, which add to the wealth of the nation and give employment to many people. We cannot afford to have or to encourage anything that leads to unemployment during these days of high prices. Any economy that leads to a lowering of production is bad economy. Ministers of Industries therefore should work with something of the tremendous energy which the Chancellor of the Exchequer in England, Sir Stafford Cripps, has shown in dealing with England's economic difficulties. We have to produce both for consumption and for export and I have no doubt that we can increase our production greatly and soon, if we think more of the smaller schemes and a little less of the very big ones.

17. Having dealt with a variety of problems I now come to an issue of grave importance for us which is filling my mind, as I write this letter. This is the Kashmir issue. You know that it was proposed¹⁵ to hold a conference of representatives of India and Pakistan at ministerial level to consider truce terms in Kashmir. At the last moment¹⁶ the U.N. Commission stopped this conference by calling it off.

13. The Conference, held on 19-20 August, resolved that the medium of instruction in schools, both at the primary and secondary levels, should be the mother tongue. In bilingual areas, it suggested setting up of separate schools for those whose mother tongue was neither the language of the province nor the State language.

14. The conference was held on 21 August 1949.

15. On 9 August 1949, the Commission proposed to hold a ministerial-level meeting between the two Governments from 22 August to discuss the truce proposals.

16. On 18 August 1949.

This came as a great surprise to us. It is true that there was not very much hope of arriving at an agreement, but one does not give up striving because of the difficulty of the task. What distressed us most was the reason for and the manner in which this conference was called off by the U.N. Commission.¹⁷ They called it off because there was no agreement on the agenda,¹⁸ because Pakistan refused even to discuss some of the vital points in dispute. In other words Pakistan repeated its old practice of exercising a veto and the Commission tamely agreed to it.

18. Now the Commission has proposed arbitration in regard to the truce.¹⁹ It is not usual to have arbitration on political issues of this type and the United Nations have never suggested this previously, although they have been connected with many international disputes and conflicts. Nevertheless there is no reason why we should rule out arbitration. But the manner of suggesting it is extraordinary. No terms of reference even have been mentioned and the Commission appears to want to forget everything that has happened in the course of the last twenty months or so, including its own labours. I have also received messages²⁰ from President Truman of the United States of America and from Prime Minister Attlee of the United Kingdom, urging us to accept this proposed arbitration. I confess that I have been somewhat distressed by this approach of these two eminent persons. Obviously this is a matter of great importance for us requiring the most careful thought. We are going to give that thought to it and before we formulate our answer, we shall consult all those who are intimately concerned. At my request, Shaikh Abdullah, the Prime Minister of Kashmir, has come here and I intend going to Bombay soon to consult our Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Patel.

19. Reports continue to come to us of feverish preparations in Pakistan for war. Large purchases of arms and equipment have been made in foreign countries and we are told that the whole atmosphere in Western Pakistan is a fatalistic one expecting and preparing for war. So far as we are concerned, we are determined not to take any step that leads to war. In spite of the fact that Pakistan was the aggressor in Kashmir, we want to settle this problem peacefully. We shall not be aggressors in any event. But in view of all these war preparations of Pakistan, we have naturally to be on the alert for any development. Meanwhile, tension between

17. Oldrich Chyle, Chairman of the Commission, announced on 18 August 1949 that the meeting had been cancelled because the Commission felt that after comparing the responses of the two Governments and, "keeping in mind the background of the question," the meeting would not have led to any positive result.

18. On 12 August, India informed the Commission that the question of withdrawal and disbandment of 'Azad Kashmir' forces should be part of the agenda.

19. On 29-30 August, the Commission asked both the Governments if they would agree to arbitration by Admiral Nimitz on "the differences existing between them concerning all questions raised by them in the implementation of Part II of the Resolution of 13 August 1948," and treating his decisions as binding on both.

20. On 30 August.

Pakistan and Afghanistan has grown and in each country there is continuous and violent propaganda against the other.

20. The recent ordinances in regard to evacuee property have created some sensation. The Pakistan Government has for long been riding roughshod over the rights of its non-Muslim citizens. The ordinance passed by us was a natural consequence of the steps taken by Pakistan.²¹ In applying it, great care has to be taken to avoid injustice.²² For us every citizen of India, Hindu, Muslim or other, must have the same rights and privileges. Cases have been brought to my notice, when action was taken without sufficient justification or enquiry. I would request you therefore to impress upon all custodians of evacuee property and others who deal with this matter that the greatest care must be exercised. There are many difficult cases, because families have been split up by Partition and there is joint ownership of property. However that may be, it is important that we should proceed cautiously. It is better to allow a few evil-doers to escape than to tarnish our reputation or to give cause to people to say that we are not treating some Muslims with absolute fairness.

21. In a little more than a month, I shall be leaving India to go to the United States and I shall be away for about five weeks. This visit of mine is being made much of in the United States and a heavy programme has been made for me. It is a difficult time for me to leave India. Nevertheless I hope that the visit will bear some fruit.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

21. On 26 July 1949 the Pakistan Government banned the sale and exchange of all non-Muslim properties whether such property was evacuee property or belonged to permanent non-Muslim citizens of Pakistan. Since January 1949, Pakistan had allowed sale of evacuee properties for realization of income-tax dues of non-Muslim evacuees, deliberately stepped down the rental value of urban evacuee properties and had taken over non-Muslim firms on the plea that they "intended to evacuate from Pakistan." The Government of India issued protest notes to Pakistan about these actions on 23 and 24 August 1949.

22. See *ante*, pp. 101-109.

II

New Delhi
September 16, 1949

My dear Premier,

The last fortnight has been a very busy one for me and for many others in Delhi. The Constituent Assembly has been in session all the time, often dealing with matters which raised a great deal of controversy and argument. There have been prolonged and heated debates and yet ultimately some way that we generally accepted was found. One of the matters which was debated both in the House and outside the longest was the language issue. There was strong feeling over this matter and repeated attempts at some kind of a compromise failed. Yet ultimately the resolution was passed almost unanimously.¹ This was significant of the way we work, of both our weaknesses and our strength. We debated interminably and often with some heat, when we might have come to a reasonable solution by agreement much earlier. But the fact remains that we were wise enough to come to an agreement in spite of the strong feeling in the matter on both sides. This language resolution has to be taken seriously and at the same time we must proceed with as large a measure of cooperation of the different parts of India as possible, so that there may be no element of coercion or ill-feeling. As I said in the Assembly, we have begun a linguistic revolution of the first magnitude. This does not mean of course that English will fade away. The English language has become too important an element in India's public life and in the world to be ignored.

2. The Constituent Assembly has already lasted about two years and nine months. When it first came into existence, I estimated that it would finish its labours within eight or nine months. Subsequent happenings have shown how wrong I was. At any rate now we seem at last to be somewhere near the end. Yet it has not been possible to finish the second reading during the current session. We shall break up soon and meet again early in October to complete the second reading. We then meet in November for the third and final reading. That is the programme. We are determined to inaugurate the new Republic on the 26th January, a fateful day in India's history.

3. The Kashmir issue has given us a great deal of trouble during the past fortnight. You must have seen in the newspapers the communication addressed to us by the U.N. Commission proposing arbitration on the truce proposals. We are not and we cannot be opposed to arbitration in principle over any matter of dispute.² But the manner this proposal was put forward to us was not only not

1. On 14 September 1949. See *ante*, p. 147.

2. On 8 September, the Commission was informed that India would like the points of arbitration to be spelled out and a specific assurance on disbandment of 'Azad Kashmir' forces be given, as India could ill afford to see the repetition of the horrors of invasion, and if the forces were not disbanded, "one of the essential conditions for holding a free and impartial plebiscite will not be satisfied."

in conformity with the assurances given to us by the Commission previously but was practically an encouragement of the aggressor. We have been unable to accept this proposal, though we have made it clear that we do not believe in deciding any issue by the sword and we are always prepared for peaceful settlement of the entire issue by arbitration or otherwise. But any such approach must bear all the facts in mind and all the assurances given to us and the commitments made. Also the security of Kashmir must be assured. Presumably the Commission will now go to Geneva to write their report and will later present it to the Security Council of the United Nations.

4. Kashmir is one of our main causes of friction with Pakistan. This trouble has been none of our seeking. Kashmir was attacked and invaded and we went to its rescue. We cannot prove false to our duty and to the trust reposed in us. Another major question is that of evacuee property. A third one relates to river and canal waters. In regard to both these questions, we are prepared to settle them by any peaceful method, including proper arbitration.

5. There has been considerable deterioration in regard to the evacuee property question. Pakistan has seized hold of a great deal of non-Muslim property. What it previously did rather informally, it now does under cover of law. This has naturally produced its reactions in India. Here also additional steps have been taken to prevent any misuse of property by evacuees. An Ordinance was issued both at the Centre and in the provinces. This Ordinance was rather vaguely and loosely worded and we have received a number of complaints about its application. The matter is under consideration.

6. Meanwhile I should like to make it perfectly clear that we are not out to follow the methods and practice of Pakistan in this or any other matter. We must proceed with the greatest care not to do any injustice to any individual. I have found that some Custodians have been over-enthusiastic or have interpreted the instructions sent by us in a manner that has led to injustice.³ Strict orders have been issued now that this must not be done. In fact, for the time being all sealing of shops and other property has been stopped till further instructions are issued. I shall be grateful to you if you will impress upon all Custodians in your province to act in a strictly judicial manner and when in doubt, always to give the benefit of doubt to the person concerned. We must remember that in northern India especially large numbers of Muslim families have been split up by the Partition. Because a relative is in Pakistan, it does not necessarily follow that the party remaining in India has to be treated as an alien. He must have his full rights of Indian citizenship respected until something is definitely proved against him. There has been a tendency to proceed on vague information or on insufficient data. This must be checked. Otherwise alarm seizes large numbers of people who do not know when action might be taken against them. As a matter of fact most of those who

3. See *ante*, pp. 101-109.

have really sinned in this respect have got away with their property. The smaller fry remain. We must not deal with these petty folk harshly. It would be most unfortunate if any impression got abroad that we were treating some of our fellow citizens unjustly. The reputation of India is more important than action taken in some petty matter.

7. In Pakistan there has been much shouting about a boycott of Indian cloth and generally the tone of speeches and newspaper articles has been aggressive, rather vulgar and full of threats.⁴ It is unfortunate that a neighbour country of ours should behave in this way. It displays not only a certain immaturity but, what is worse, a pathological condition of the mind. We must not allow ourselves to react in a like manner. That would bring us down to the same low level. We have certain objectives and a certain high responsibility, which we dare not forget.

8. The economic situation in India, as in many other countries, is a cause of uneasiness. Basically, it is admitted all round, that India is sound. But certain events and a certain lack of patriotic outlook among some of our countrymen have led to the present position. We shall get over these difficulties, I have little doubt. But the way is going to be a hard one and it might possibly take some time. If necessary, and it may well be necessary, we may have to think of non-traditional ways of dealing with an abnormal situation. Traditional ways are good in their way, but are slow and totally unsuited sometimes to the rapid march of events. The Government of India is trying its utmost to avoid any expenditure that is not considered absolutely essential. We have summoned back, much to my regret, some of our representatives abroad. Economy is essential. But two facts have to be borne in mind. We have to avoid large-scale suffering and we must see that this economy does not come in the way of future development. The time has come when we must look at this picture of India as a whole and decide on some kind of a regulated plan of action. In a way there has been a spate of planning in India during the last few years and all our drawers and pigeon-holes are full of projects and schemes and the like. But all this can hardly be called planning in the real sense of the word. For planning means an approach to the question on a national basis. It means a definite objective to be aimed at and not sporadic efforts at improvement here and there. This is a vast question and will require a good deal of thinking and working out. But our approach to it should be clear. Also we can never forget the human and social factors. A modern Government cannot allow people to starve or to suffer in other ways without making every effort to help them.

4. In August 1949, a call for the boycott of Indian cloth was given in Pakistan and on 5 September 1949, Karachi observed the "Boycott of Indian Cloth Day" with bonfires of Indian cloth. On 25 August, Liaquat Ali said that "Pakistan will never allow Kashmir to be taken by force by any one," and on 13 September, M.A. Gurnani said that Kashmir was "an article of faith" with Pakistan and that its people would "shed their last drop of blood in its cause." There were also reports about Pakistan purchasing arms from Italy.

9. Looked at from any point of view, the food problem becomes the principal one. If we cannot solve it adequately then a multitude of other difficulties pursue us. If, however, we can control the food situation, then we can also control other situations. I think that there is some realization of this in the country and a definite attempt is being made at all levels to avoid waste, to produce more food and to some extent change our food habits. There is this public responsibility and I have had many evidences of this even from children in schools. The latest is that the Textile Labour Association of Ahmedabad has decided not to take any rice ration. This by itself saves 5000 maunds of rice every month. In Delhi 1000 bags of rice were saved in a week by a little effort. If this kind of thing is followed up all over the country, then we do not have to wait till 1951. The food problem will be solved long before that.

10. There is one way of avoidance of waste which must be attended to. In most cities and other rationed areas, rations are often issued to non-existent people. Wherever there has been a check-up this has been found and a considerable saving effected. I see in the newspapers that in Lucknow city 48,000 of such ghost rations were being issued. By stopping this, 1,970 maunds of rice and 3,940 maunds of coarse grain have been saved. I would suggest to you therefore that there should be these checks of rationed areas and the rules should be strictly enforced.

11. While I am sure there is much wider realization of the food situation and efforts are being made all over the country to improve it, I still think that the mentality of a wartime effort is lacking, both among many of our officers and the people. We have to produce this mentality. In particular District Officers must assume full responsibility for all work connected with food in their districts. That should be their first concern and they must be told that they would be judged by results and not by long reports. As a matter of fact, our Food Commissioner tells me that even these reports do not come and sometimes there are delays in replies from provinces. That means the people have not imbibed the war-time spirit sufficiently.

12. In regard to subsidiary foods, it must be realized that unless they are linked up with rationing with a view to reduce import of grain, they will serve little purpose. Provinces should consider this matter and forge this link in consultation with our Ministry of Food.

13. I think I mentioned to you in one of my letters the success of Shri Gangasaran, a kisan of Meerut in the U.P. He has shown remarkable results in increasing the output of various food-stuffs. He started with potatoes and from a maximum output of 250 maunds per acre, he went on to 315 in the first year, to 427 in the second, and to 548 maunds in the third year. That is, he more than doubled his output. He received a prize of Rs 5,000/- from the U.P. Government. He has achieved success in the cereal crops also. The idea of giving prizes for increased production and having competitions for it is a good one. Our Agriculture Ministry has already sent you a scheme for this purpose and I hope that subordinate

officers like *patwaris* and *tehsildars* will be instructed to give wide publicity to this scheme and induce villagers to participate in it.

14. I wrote to you once of the discovery of large supplies of water in the Jodhpur desert.⁵ Further information has produced even more optimistic estimates and we hope to have vast farms where there were deserts previously. All this is very hopeful. Add to this the probability of a good harvest. We are thus well on our way to success in our food campaign. But there can be no half measures and we must put in our fullest efforts. For my part, I do not think now of 1951 as the date for stopping imports of food-stuffs. I hope that we shall be able to do it largely by the end of 1950. Meanwhile, I think we should stop rice imports and send wheat only to areas which can do without rice.

15. There has been a minor crisis in the sugar and jute position. I must confess that I have been puzzled by this and have had a feeling that some people are trying to profit by juggling with prices. Our Government has taken some steps to control this. I would suggest to you that provincial Government should handle available stocks of sugar so as to have fair distribution through cooperatives or fair price shops. Consumers should not try to make large purchases with a view to keep reserve stocks. This is the way to play into the hands of the profiteers. Any persons guilty of profiteering or anti-social practice should be severely dealt with, whoever they might be.

16. In regard to jute, Pakistan appears to be trying to create some kind of a monopoly in East Bengal. They charge us very high prices for the raw jute. With these prices of the raw material the finished products become very expensive. It is necessary, therefore, for each province to increase its production of jute.

17. As you perhaps know, an eminent American engineer, Dr Trone, who has spent many years in Russia, China, Japan and other places, has been in India, at our invitation, to advise us generally about planning and development. He has been here only a month thus far and he will give us a full report later. Already, however, he has drawn my attention to certain matters. Government departments work in more or less watertight compartments without organic unity of purpose. There is this lack of unity of purpose also as between different provinces. Thus the activities of closely allied departments like agriculture, irrigation, forestry and cooperatives have to be inter-related for quick and effective results, even in the Grow-More-Food Campaign. Another matter to which he has drawn my attention is the divorce often of responsibility from authority. It is seldom that any individual is responsible for any task. Responsibility is spread out over committees and a number of departments and hence there is not only great delay through red-tape etc., but a loss of efficiency. Our Government structure was built up by the British for their own special purposes and it had little relation to economic activities of the nation. In the main it was concerned with keeping the peace and collecting taxes. We are

5. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 12, pp. 23, 71 and 309.

trying to use the same structure for economic activities of all kinds, for which it is not suited. Whenever a Government has taken over charge of economic activities it has been compelled by circumstances to devise new machinery which united responsibility and authority. A well-known instance of this is that of the Tennessee Valley Authority⁶ in the U.S. This is a large question and a most important one, which we shall have to consider very carefully. I should like you to give thought to it.

18. Our Housing Factory near Delhi will soon begin to produce prefabricated houses. We have also entered into an arrangement with a British firm⁷ to erect prefabricated houses of a different type. I have seen models of those houses and they are very good and very substantial as well as attractive. On the whole, they are cheaper than traditional methods of building and obviously they are faster. I have little doubt in my mind that we shall have to go in for prefabricated houses on a large scale, if we are to meet the housing shortage. These houses must be built very largely with such material as may be locally available. This will not do away with the traditional methods of building. There is plenty of scope for both.

19. The Indonesian Round Table Conference at The Hague is proceeding rather slowly. It is difficult to say whether it is moving towards success or a deadlock. On the whole indications point to some measure of success.

20. In China the Communist armies are marching rapidly towards Canton and there can be little doubt that they will reach there before very long. Probably by the 10th October, which is special date in Chinese history and is called the double tenth,⁸ a new Central Government might be proclaimed in China. The question of recognition of the new regime will then have to be considered. We are in no way opposed to such recognition. But we shall have to wait and watch developments before we take any such step. Meanwhile the position of our Ambassador as well as other Ambassadors is becoming more and more difficult. It is possible that the new Government might move from Nanking to Peiping. We may have to recall our Ambassador for consultations, if the situation so demands. In any event our consular staff will remain there.

21. There has been a great deal of bitter criticism in the Chinese Communist press about India's interest in Tibet. Of course we are interested, as Tibet is our neighbour. But we have no intention of interfering in any way. Much of this criticism in China has been caused by an article that appeared in *Blitz* some time back, in which some fantastic allegations were made. You may remember that we had to take some action against the correspondent⁹ of *Blitz* in Delhi,¹⁰ who was

6. Established in 1933, the Authority envisaged producing electricity for rural electrification, developing flood control measures and production of fertilizers.

7. Reema Construction Limited, Salisbury.

8. The Wuchang uprising, an anti-dynastic revolt took place on 10 October 1911 and is known as the double tenth.

9. G.K. Reddy.

10. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 12, p.15.

responsible for this article. I have been criticized in many newspapers for this action. I had not wanted to enter into a controversy or to give all facts to the public. We had repeatedly warned that correspondent previously and yet he persisted in his fanciful stories. His last effort had led to a great deal of misunderstanding and trouble for us.

22. I must say that it distresses me to see how irresponsible some of the newspaper comments are. It does not matter very much, if those comments deal with the domestic situation, but it does matter, when they touch upon international issues. The comments of some newspapers in regard to Kashmir have also been wholly irresponsible and harmful.

23. Our delegation for the next meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations has departed. It is a smaller delegation than usual, because of the need for dollar economy. Indeed we are cutting down all our delegations and often stopping them because of this. There are several important subjects before the General Assembly in which we are interested. There is the question of Italian colonies, of South West Africa, where the South African Government has deliberately flouted the United Nations, and there may be the question of Indians in South Africa. In spite of our efforts to hold a round table conference over this issue,¹¹ we have not gone far yet, because of the delays of the South African Government. We may thus have to place the matter again before the General Assembly.

24. As you know, I shall be going to the United States early in October and I am not likely to be back till the second week of November. Newspapers, both in India and abroad, attach deep significance to my visit. No doubt there is a certain significance to it, because of many reasons. But those who imagine that I am going to discuss a Pacific Pact¹² or something like it, are mistaken. Naturally occasions may arise for me to discuss a number of problems and more particularly the question of loans for our development schemes.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 12, p. 385.

12. On 15 September, the representatives of Australia and New Zealand informed an unofficial Commonwealth Relations Conference that they would welcome a Pacific Pact, with the United States as senior partner. There was speculation in the Indian press that Nehru would discuss this issue in the United States.

III

New Delhi
October 2, 1949

My dear Premier,

This will be my last letter to you for six weeks or so.¹ In another five days I shall be leaving India and after a brief halt in London, I shall proceed to the United States of America. This proposed tour of mine has already attracted a great deal of attention there. A heavy programme has been drawn up for me and yet I have had to reject innumerable engagements which otherwise I should have liked to accept.

2. I am going away from India at a time of peculiar stress and difficulty. I could hardly have chosen a more unsuitable time for such a visit abroad. Nevertheless I have decided to adhere to my promise and programme, as a postponement of it at this stage would have created great difficulties and might have been construed almost as an act of discourtesy to the United States. So I am going, though I would very much like to remain here and to share with my colleagues the burden of the day. It is possible however that my visit to the United States might bear fruit. I have already told you in my letters that rumours and talk about certain political issues, like the Pacific Pact etc., being discussed by me in the United States are without foundation. I am going to the U.S. in all friendliness and I am sure I shall get friendliness in return. Our foreign policy remains what we have so often declared it to be and it will be my privilege to say so, if occasion arises, in the U.S. We shall be glad if on the economic plane we get help from America. That does not mean that we are going as beggars to the U.S. or to any other country. It is better to starve than to beg and become dependent upon others. We want food, we want machinery and other capital goods. We do not ask for them as free gifts. We should like to have them on some deferred payment system, on terms of mutual advantage. If it is to India's advantage to have food and machinery from the U.S., it is equally to the United States' advantage to help India in this way. The U.S.A. cannot maintain its position, in spite of the gold and dollars it has, unless it trades with the rest of the world and unless standards go up in the undeveloped countries. So it is a question of enlightened self-interest on both sides. India has much to give, not in gold or silver or even in exportable commodities, but by virtue of her present position. It is well recognized today all

1. During Nehru's absence, Vallabhbhai Patel, addressed one fortnightly letter to the Chief Ministers on 3 November 1949. For this letter see *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 8, pp. 386-404.

over the world that the future of Asia will be powerfully determined by the future of India. India becomes more and more the pivot of Asia.

3. I have referred above to the economic situation. This has been giving us a lot of trouble which has increased because of devaluation, which has brought a large number of problems in its train. Pakistan's refusal to devalue her rupee in terms of the dollar has added further complications and, for the present, all trade between India and Pakistan is at a standstill. Our food problem is affected, our import of machinery is affected, and indeed many of our development schemes to which we attach value have been affected by this devaluation. We have to exercise the strictest economy in all our expenditure and, in particular, in regard to dollars.

4. Parliament will meet soon to discuss this devaluation.² I am sure that this decision was inevitable for us. To say that the United Kingdom Government has compelled us or even advised us to devalue the rupee is completely wrong. To say that this is a consequence of our being in the Commonwealth is an absurdity. Pakistan in spite of being in the Commonwealth has not devalued her currency. The fact is that we have to face a certain compulsion of events. It may be that this devaluation does good to India in the long run, however much it may produce difficulties for us at present. I am totally unrepentant and I am still prepared to say that there is no essential unsoundness about India's economic position. It is clear, however, that the present position is difficult and that all of us will have to exercise the most rigid economy. This applies not only to the Central Government but also to the provincial Governments and states.

5. We have talked a great deal about planning in the past and we have also produced many reports on the subject. But our planning has been confined to special industries or activities. It has not been on what might be called a national scale. And yet planning has no meaning unless it is comprehensive and has clear objectives in view. I think that the time has come when we should take some step towards the development of a suitable planning authority. This planning authority must deal with the whole of India. But of course the actual execution of the plans will have to be left largely to provincial Governments. It would probably be desirable for the provincial and state Governments to have their own planning officers who could deal directly with the Central planning authority. About this I shall write to you more when our own plans develop.

6. The basis of all planning must necessarily be self-sufficiency in food. Thus we come back again to the food problem. If we have enough food in the country, we can to some extent carry on even without other goods. I trust, therefore, that you will continue the food campaign with full vigour. Your Food Ministers will be coming to Delhi soon to discuss various matters,³ including the question of a reduction both in food prices and in the prices of some other essential commodities.

2. The debate on devaluation took place from 4 to 9 October 1949. See also *ante*, pp. 51-56.

3. The Food Ministers met on 8 and 9 October 1949.

I think that in spite of the devaluation, we can reduce prices somewhat. I realize fully that there are strong arguments against the reduction of the procurement prices of foodgrains. I do not think it is intended to make a big reduction. My sympathies in this matter are very largely with the farmers and the peasants who have in the past suffered so much. Nevertheless, it should be possible to make a reduction partly in the cost of the machinery for procurement and partly in the price of the grain itself. At the same time, the price of some commodities needed by the peasants must also go down.

7. It was our intention to import a very large quantity of fertilizers. I am afraid we shall have to limit this quantity very strictly as the prices have gone up because of devaluation. You may not, therefore, be able to get the quantity of fertilizers that you had asked for. This means that you must pay increased attention to the production of indigenous compost. I think that if we can spend even a small proportion of the money we would have had to pay for the fertilizers on the production of compost, we would go far in this direction.

8. In regard to the economic situation and the need to conserve dollars, I regret to say that some of our development schemes have to be postponed. I am sorry for this and I hope that the postponement will not be for long. We must take up our major development schemes before any long, because on them depends the future progress of the country. It is better to live a hard life today so that tomorrow might be provided for. For the present, however, it is desirable to economize in every respect so that we may be in a strong position next year to make further advance.

9. I should like to draw your attention again in this connection to the urgent necessity of your reconsidering various schemes of social reform to which some of the provinces are committed. Those reforms are obviously good in themselves. But a good thing may have evil consequences if done at the wrong time. We are committed to prohibition. If prohibition however has grave consequences on our economy or stops the most urgent work of Government, then ordinary prudence tells us that it should be brought in by degrees so that we can adjust ourselves to the change. Otherwise the blame for stopping progressive activities will fall on prohibition.

10. I should like to draw your attention in this connection also to the methods of enforcing prohibition. I am told that sometimes these are crude and offensive to a degree and harass the average person very greatly. Thus sometimes the policeman or an inspector insists on smelling a person's mouth to see if he has been drinking or not. This kind of thing is almost a personal affront and can only breed anger and ill will. Prohibition should essentially mean the prohibition to sell alcoholic drinks.

11. I think I have written to you previously⁴ about horse-racing and the

4. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 11, pp. 19-24.

gambling which usually accompanies it. People may have differing views on this subject. But there are certain aspects of it, which must be kept in mind. There is the economic aspect of course that we cannot afford to lose substantial revenue at this time. The petty gambling connected with horse-racing may be bad and should be discouraged. But it is a relatively petty offence and it is always possible to drive it underground and thus making it worse. The main argument however is connected with horse breeding. It is of importance to us to encourage horse breeding both for our army and other purposes. If horse-racing is affected, horse breeding inevitably suffers and that means that we have to spend large sums of money in importing horses from abroad.

12. We have had a great deal of trouble during the past months in regard to cotton textiles and mills. Owing to the congestion of cloth and yarn stocks in mills, a difficulty had arisen and certain mills had actually to close down. Obviously this tendency has to be checked. After a careful examination of the whole situation and full consultation with industry and labour and distributors, certain steps in modification of the previous system of textile control have been introduced.⁵ These modifications may cause some disturbance in the channels of distribution which the provincial and state Governments have built up. I hope, however, that the revised control on textiles will be given a full trial and that your Government will cooperate with us on this subject.

13. Owing to devaluation we have to think a little more in terms of commercial crops. We have to grow more of jute, sugar-cane, cotton and oil-seeds. Thus our Grow-More-Food programme will have to take this into consideration and the various crops will have to be balanced. Regarding subsidiary foods, that is high-yielding crops, the best course appears to be to grow them in a relatively small area, say five or ten acres in villages near towns.

14. I have recently visited the East Punjab as well as Kashmir.⁶ I was pleased with my visit to the East Punjab, as I found a great improvement there since I last went. There was an air of stability and a healthy feeling of making progress. There are many difficult problems still, notably a tendency to faction. I hope, however, that progress will be maintained in the East Punjab.

15. The visit to Kashmir, as always, gave me great pleasure. There was the first convocation of the University there and a session of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference.⁷ This session was very successful and very representative. It showed the organisational and popular strength of the National Conference under the leadership of Shaikh Abdullah. It showed also the strength of will in Kashmir in favour of remaining with India.

5. On 20 August 1949, the Government decided to allow textile mills to sell surplus stock of cloth to retail distributors but insisted that the price should not be higher than that fixed by the Government.

6. From 17 to 26 September 1949.

7. For Nehru's speech at the annual session of the National Conference see pp. 231-243 and for speech at the University see pp. 276-279.

16. I found an improvement in many directions in Kashmir. The administration was running more smoothly, supplies were greater, and on the whole complaints were fewer. There was an air of confidence about the leaders of Kashmir. Indeed the position in Kashmir in regard to supplies and general conditions of living is such that people tend to come over from the Pakistan-held territory, where prices are much higher. There was a river procession in Srinagar and this was a magnificent sight which cannot be equalled anywhere else in India.

17. You may have heard of recent developments in regard to Kashmir. General Delvoie⁸ the Military Adviser to the U.N. Commission, acted with grave impropriety a few days ago and actually broke open some seals of the Kashmir Government and sent property belonging to a declared enemy agent⁹ from Srinagar to Rawalpindi. We take a serious view of this matter and are communicating with the U.N. Commission in regard to it.

18. The Government of Madras have recently, with our approval, banned the Communist Party of India in their province.¹⁰ There has been a general approval of this step taken. Indeed the criticism has been that it was belated. I should like to repeat here that this banning is entirely due to the violent activities of the Communist Party. It has nothing to do with ideology or theory. A recent pamphlet issued¹¹ by the Government of India gives some information about these declared activities of the Communist Party in regard to violence, sabotage and general disruption. We have much more evidence and we may issue another pamphlet later. The activity of the Communist Party has taken place largely in Hyderabad State and in some parts of Madras and West Bengal. In Hyderabad it was encouraged by the very backward land tenure system. I am glad to inform you that considerable progress has been made to change this land tenure system in Hyderabad. The big jagirs are being ended¹² and one of the biggest estates, Wanaparathi, has recently been taken over by the Government of Hyderabad.

19. In China the Communist armies have established a Central Government.¹³ This brings to the fore the question of recognizing this new Government.¹⁴ We have asked our Ambassador¹⁵ to return to India for consultation. It is obvious that

8. Maurice Delvoie, Military Adviser to the U.N. Commission from Belgium, had without the knowledge and permission of the State Government removed to Rawalpindi on 28 September 1949 seven boxes lying in Lloyds Bank, Srinagar.

9. A.R. Effendi, a tribal leader from Kashmir, who had migrated to Pakistan, was declared an 'enemy agent' by the state Government for helping the 'Azad Kashmir' forces.

10. The Tamilnad, Andhra, Kerala and Karnataka branches of the Communist Party and nineteen affiliated labour unions were declared unlawful on 26 September 1949 by the Madras Government.

11. On 29 September 1949.

12. On 15 August 1949 the Government of Hyderabad promulgated the Hyderabad Abolition of Jagirs Regulation to take over the administration of all jagirs in the state, covering an area of 26,000 sq. miles.

13. On 1 October 1949.

14. India recognized the new Government in China on 30 December 1949.

15. K.M. Panikkar.

if a stable Government is established for the whole of China or a very great part of it, the fact cannot be ignored and has to be acknowledged. How and when this should be done is a matter for careful thought.

20. India is standing for a seat in the Security Council. Pakistan has been carrying on a virulent campaign against us¹⁶ in this as in other matters. I am glad to say that this campaign has had little effect and it is highly likely that we shall get elected to the Security Council.¹⁷

21. Our attention has been drawn from time to time to senior officers in the Army receiving public addresses and sometimes delivering speeches. We should like to discourage this. It is not usual for Army officers to deliver public speeches and there is no reason why we should encourage this practice in India.

22. During the last two or three weeks, I have received a large number of complaints about the working of the Evacuee Property Ordinance. We have given much thought to this matter and probably a revised Ordinance will be issued before long.¹⁸ It is clear that we have to take effective steps in regard to evacuee property, that is the property of those who have definitely left India. We must take possession of this and, pending a final settlement with Pakistan, use it for the relief and rehabilitation of our own displaced persons. No question arises about this property which is admitted to be evacuee. Questions, however, arise in doubtful cases where a person has not left India but may intend to leave India and makes remittances in preparation for this. It is right that we should prevent this subterfuge, but in doing so, we have to be very careful that no injustice is done to any of our nationals. Cases of injustice have come up before me and they have distressed me greatly. This was so not only because there was injustice to an individual but even more so because it gave a bad name to our country, and people said that our talk of a secular State had no reality in fact. I would, therefore, request you to give explicit and clear instructions to the Custodians of Evacuee Property that they have to be very careful in applying the Ordinance in doubtful cases. The benefit of the doubt must always be given to the party concerned. We must avoid creating an atmosphere of uncertainty and lack of security in the minds of large numbers of our Muslim fellow-countrymen. This has far-reaching consequences not only in India but also in Kashmir. It affects our reputation abroad. A few houses or shops attached or taken possession of do not make very much difference. But, if wrongly done, they do affect our reputation and thus injure us.

16. On 2 September 1949, Zafrullah Khan, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, criticized Britain's move to support India's candidature for the Security Council as the "Indo-Pakistan dispute might come before the Security Council."

17. On 20 October 1949 India was elected a member of the Security Council.

18. The Ordinance of 18 October 1949 replaced separate provincial and state laws regarding evacuee property, defined evacuee property, liberalized the procedure of declaring a property as 'evacuee', and provided for judicial appeal against decisions of the custodians.

23. I know that Pakistan is pursuing a policy of utter callousness in this matter. We cannot copy the methods or the ideals of Pakistan. They have declared themselves openly to be an Islamic State believing in the two-nation theory. We reject that theory and call ourselves a secular State giving full protection to all religions. We have to live up to our ideals and declarations. More especially on this day, Gandhi Jayanti, it is for us to remember what Gandhiji taught us and what he died for.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. To Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah¹

New Delhi
August 17, 1949

My dear Shaikh Saheb,²

Thank you for your letter of the 14th August together with a copy of your letter to Shibbanlal Saksena. You need hardly have troubled yourself to write at length to Shibbanlal. He is completely irresponsible and few people here attach importance to what he says.

As you know, I think that the Praja Parishad agitation³ in Jammu has been completely misconceived and harmful. The demand for a separate Jammu area is not only foolish in itself but plays into the hands of the Pakistanis. In regard to this matter and allied matters, there can be no question of temporizing or compromising.

You must have received a letter I wrote to you,⁴ with which I sent a copy of a letter I wrote to Bakshi⁵ about this Jammu satyagraha business. While I agree with your general analysis, I think it would be good tactics to take advantage of the fading out of the satyagraha etc., to tone down governmental repressive activities. This ultimately would completely undermine the Praja Parishad opposition. It would be a sign of Government strength. I am not very much concerned with a few Praja Parishad agitators, but rather with an impression created on other folk and I should like this to be removed.

I have also received your other letter of the 14th with figures collected by your Information Department regarding the services and two pamphlets.

We have received a letter from the U.N. Commission enclosing the reply of Pakistan to their proposal to hold a conference.⁶ Zafrullah Khan tries to limit the subjects to be discussed at the conference and probably does not want the

1. J.N. Collection.

2. He was Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir from 1948 to 1953.

3. On 23 June 1949, the Jammu Praja Parishad launched a satyagraha demanding "provincial autonomy within the state" for Jammu, handing over of administration of the state to the States Ministry at the Centre and release of political prisoners.

4. In this letter of 14 August 1949 (not printed) Nehru enclosing a cutting from the *Civil and Military Gazette* about the state of affairs in the N.W.F.P. wrote that such information from the Pakistan press showed how Pakistan behaved in its own States. He also added that the trouble in Jammu was inspired from outside specially from the East Punjab and he was taking up the matter with the Government there.

5. Letter to Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad on 14 August 1949. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 12, pp. 358-359.

6. On 16 August 1949, the Government of Pakistan objected to the inclusion of new items, under the provision, "other related questions," suggested by the Government of India and asked for deletion of this clause from the agenda of the proposed inter-Dominion ministerial conference to discuss the terms of truce on 22 August.

disbandment of the 'Azad Kashmir' forces to be discussed on the ground that this was not mentioned in the Resolution of the Commission of August 1948. We propose to send a reply that we consider this and the Northern Area subjects essential for discussion. We do not propose to say that we shall not meet the Pakistanis.

I think however it is highly likely that our conference will not last long. It would probably end in the initial stages.

The Yuvaraj arrived here today and is staying with me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To Lady Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
August 20, 1949

My dear Lady Mountbatten,

... I have read with interest the newspaper cuttings about America that you have sent. The power of the dollar is indeed great and rather terrifying and I am afraid most people succumb to it. Our own need of dollars, or rather what dollars represent in the shape of machinery etc., is great. I do not personally attach as much importance to dollar or money generally as many people do and it is quite possible that the general line I may take up in America, though friendly of course, might not be entirely agreeable to the masters of the dollars or to those who worship it from afar.

Kashmir affairs have come up against another crisis. The crisis of course is continuous. Only sometimes it is more acute. We were on the point of having an inter-Dominion conference to discuss truce terms. Suddenly the U.N. Commission informed us that the conference is off, because of a difference of opinion about the agenda.² It is true that there was this marked difference of opinion, because Pakistan wanted to exclude some matters from the agenda, which we considered essential. It is also true that a successful outcome of the conference was very doubtful. Nevertheless it was rather odd for the Commission to put an end to the whole business almost at the last moment. It almost seems that they were not very keen on it. What is going to happen now is not clear. I suppose the Commission will report to the Security Council. Meanwhile Pakistan breeds fire and fury and prepares for war at a feverish pace. Liaquat Ali Khan announced publicly that they were spending seventy-five crores of rupees annually on their Defence Services,

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

2. On 18 August, the Chairman of the U.N.C.I.P. cancelled the meeting as the Commission felt that in view of the divergent views of the two Governments about the agenda the meeting might not lead to positive results.

that is about 85% of their total Budget. Things are moving rather fast and I rather doubt if this deadlock will continue as it is for long. Something this way or that is likely to happen.

All this will indicate to you how difficult it is for me to be away from my post for long. And yet, unless something very extraordinary occurs, I shall go to the United States. This visit of mine is assuming an unusual importance. What its consequences will be, I do not know.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To Lord Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
August 22, 1949

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Thank you for your letter of the 10th July. I am sorry for the delay in answering it.

I have been, as usual, more than busy and I am fully occupied with a multitude of problems. Vallabhbhai Patel has been more or less unwell for several months. He spent two or three months in Dehra Dun during the summer. When he returned to Delhi, he was no better and after two weeks here, doctors more or less compelled him to go to Bombay, where he is now. I understand that he is slightly better. I fear, however, that he is not likely to regain his old health. Nevertheless, he is so intensely attached to his work that he cannot divert his mind from it. He is continually telephoning and meeting people, with the result that he really has no rest.

You must have read about recent developments in Kashmir. We managed to get an Agreement with Pakistan on a definite ceasefire line.² They had encroached a great deal since the actual ceasefire on 1st January. As a result of our agreement they had to give up some territory, about two or three hundred square miles in the northern region. On the whole the agreement was satisfactory for us, though we did not get all that we wanted. As a matter of fact, when the ceasefire took place, we were advancing fairly rapidly in the north. Probably if the ceasefire had been delayed for another two or three days, we would have gone much further and occupied some important strategic points. However, we decided then to stop fighting and we stayed put where we were. A little later, when the snows began to melt, Pakistan crept up in various places and occupied much of the no-man's

1. J.N. Collection.

2. On 27 July 1949. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 12, p. 334.

land. This Ceasefire Agreement is supposed to be implemented by the end of this month.

Meanwhile there was talk of another conference to consider truce terms.³ We agreed to this and a date was fixed. This date was in fact today. Rather suddenly, three days ago, the U.N. Commission told us that the conference was off, because there was no agreement on the agenda. So we remain where we were and I suppose the Commission will now report to the Security Council.

The disagreement on the agenda chiefly related to two points, which we wanted to discuss and Pakistan refused to do so. One of these was the disbandment and disarmament of the 'Azad Kashmir' forces. The other related to certain Northern Territories. Ever since the Commission's resolution last year, we have been laying stress on both these points and the Commission have agreed generally with what we say, though details were to be considered later. Pakistan say that they are not bound down by what we said or by what the Commission said to us and hence the deadlock.

Apart from our insistence on these two vital points for a whole year now, a new situation has arisen. A year ago, the 'Azad Kashmir' forces were relatively small and badly equipped. Since then, in view of the possibility of Pakistan having to withdraw their forces, they have feverishly trained and added to the 'Azad Kashmir' forces, with the result that according to Pakistan itself, there are now thirty-five battalions of well-trained 'Azad Kashmir' forces. Obviously these forces are a menace to us and we made it clear that we could not withdraw our armies so long as these forces remained there and were not disbanded and disarmed.

I am sorry to say that generally relations between India and Pakistan do not improve. One of the major issues between us is that of evacuee property. The property left in Pakistan by those who migrated to India is worth four or five times the value of property left in India by those who migrated to Pakistan. Pakistan has practically taken possession not only of this evacuee property but also the property of Hindus and Sikhs who still remain in Sind and other places.

I am glad to learn that you have been promoted⁴ to the substantive rank of Vice-Admiral. I confess I do not understand the mysteries of these promotions. After having been Supreme Commander in South East Asia and Viceroy and Governor-General of India, it seems rather odd that you should become a Rear-Admiral⁵ and then gradually a Vice-Admiral.

Our chief difficulty here, as in England, is the economic situation. Prices remain high and refuse to go down. Dollars are scarce and we have practically stopped imports except those that are essential.

3. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 12, pp. 338-339.

4. In June 1949.

5. In fact, Mountbatten had been elevated to the rank of Rear-Admiral after the Japanese surrender at Singapore in September 1945.

As you know, I am going to the United States. My visit has really nothing to do with this economic difficulty. I was invited by President Truman long ago and I accepted. Most people, however, think that I am going to America specially because of the dollar difficulty. No doubt there may be some talks about it. But for my part, I shall not entangle myself in any detailed talks.

I am reaching London on the 8th October and spending two days there on my way to the U.S. Indira is going with me and also Bajpai and Mathai.⁶ I expect to spend three weeks in the United States and three days in Canada, where I shall meet Alexander⁷ after over forty years.⁸ On my way back, I shall spend four or five days in London, as I want to meet Attlee, Stafford Cripps and others, and then I shall hurry back to India. It will be no easy matter to be away for five weeks from India.

I enjoyed my visit to Leh very much.⁹ It was a brief visit for four days, but it was a full one. I like going to odd places and Ladakh is certainly unusual.

I shall be sending you soon a copy of the book containing my recent speeches.¹⁰ The Government of India had published it.

Rajaji is here and is a great comfort. We unburden ourselves to each other frequently and feel the better for it, even though the problems remain.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. M.O. Mathai.
7. Harold Earl Alexander of Tunis (1891-1969); served in First and Second World Wars, Field Marshal, 1944; Governor-General, Canada, 1946-52; Minister of Defence in British Government, 1952-54.
8. Nehru and Alexander had studied at Harrow.
9. From 3 to 9 July 1949. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 12, pp. 348-352.
10. *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches*, September 1946—May 1949, Vol. 1, (Publications Division, August 1949).

4. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

New Delhi
August 30, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

... The U.N. Kashmir Commission people came to see Bajpai today and put forward their proposal² for arbitration regarding the truce, by (Admiral) Nimitz as

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 1, pp. 294-295. Extracts.
2. On 29 and 30 August 1949, the Commission asked both the Governments if they would agree to arbitration by Admiral Nimitz on "the differences existing between them concerning all questions raised by them in the implementation of Part II of the Resolution of 13 August 1948", and to treat his decisions as binding on both.

arbitrator. The U.S. Ambassador is coming to see me tomorrow with a special message from President Truman about this matter. The U.K. High Commissioner is also seeing me tomorrow, probably with the same object in view. All this barrage is, I suppose, meant to sweep us away. But I am quite clear in my mind that we should not accept this proposal. I am sure you must be of the same opinion. I shall meet the Commission myself day after tomorrow...

Here the interminable debates in the Congress Party go on. The C.A. (Constituent Assembly) is likely to last till at least 22 September.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

5. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
August 30, 1949

My dear Krishna,²

... The U.N. Commission people came today and saw Bajpai. They had made the proposal, which we expected, for arbitration by Nimitz in regard to the truce. The way the Commission has behaved in this matter is really odd and the Czech's³ behaviour has been odder still. We have no intention of accepting this proposal. Tomorrow I am seeing the American Ambassador, who is bringing a message from President Truman, probably about this very matter. The U.K. High Commissioner is also seeing me tomorrow afternoon, possibly again about this matter. So all kinds of pressure are being brought upon us. We shall keep you informed by telegram.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

2. India's High Commissioner in Britain, 1947-52.

3. Oldrich Chyle, Czech member and acting chairman of the Commission at this time.

6. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
August 31, 1949

My dear Krishna,

... We have received the proposals of the U.N. Kashmir Commission for arbitration. Today I received personal messages from President Truman and Attlee strongly supporting this arbitration plan.² I must say that the way the U.N. Commission has behaved has surprised and distressed me. Their proposal is not only for arbitration by Nimitz but to leave even the subjects of arbitration to him, which is very extraordinary. They did not even propose to lay down any terms of reference or any account of the past. All their year and a half's labour and all that has happened since the invasion of Kashmir is wiped out. We start afresh with Admiral Nimitz as the arbitrator of our fate. Meanwhile, step by step, Pakistan has advanced and consolidated its position. All this is more or less stabilized and accepted now. I do not just see how we can possibly accept this arbitration. Certainly, if we thought of doing so, there would be the strongest opposition in the country. However, we have told them that we shall give full thought to the matter. I do not propose to send a reply for at least a week. We have to consult the Kashmir Government and I am thinking of going to Bombay for a talk with Sardar Patel next Monday.

Chyle, the Czech, has behaved in an extraordinary manner. He is at present acting as Chairman. All along his attitude has been one of helpfulness. Now it appears to be the reverse. Possibly he thinks he is acting in a very clever manner. I do not appreciate such cleverness....

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.

2. See *post*, items 8 and 9.

7. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
September 8, 1949

My dear Krishna,

I have your two or three telegrams.² Bajpai is telegraphing to you about the Kashmir business. This afternoon we are handing over our reply to the Chairman of the U.N. Commission here.³ My direct reply to Attlee⁴ will be sent to you by telegram and to Truman⁵ will be sent to our Ambassador in Washington.⁶ Copies are being given to their Ambassadors here, together with copies of our reply to the Commission.

We have given a great deal of thought to this matter and you will notice that while we have categorically refused the present offer of arbitration in regard to truce, we have explicitly stated that we do not rule out arbitration or any other method for the peaceful settlement of the entire dispute. This is not a mere pious phrase. We are prepared to consider this in all seriousness and to make our own suggestions, if necessary. The difficulty is that whatever one suggests, Pakistan takes advantage of and asks for more. However, when I come to London, if Attlee desires to do so, I am prepared to discuss this matter with him fully and frankly. Truman's and Attlee's recent method of approach was all wrong. The Commission's proposal itself was entirely misconceived. Apart from this, it is the normal custom for Attlee or Truman to have made an informal approach to us first before this formal message. As a matter of fact, I am told that Attlee did make this informal approach through his High Commissioner in Karachi to the Pakistan Government. They did not do so here. I am sorry I have to reject an offer commended by these high dignitaries, but we had absolutely no choice in the matter.

Your advice to me not to accept President Truman's invitation to travel by his plane from England to America, is difficult to follow. I do not myself see how, in any event, I can refuse an offer, without grave and uncalled for discourtesy. I am going to the U.S. not on any private business, but purely because of President

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.
2. The two telegrams of 7 September referred to the article in the *Manchester Guardian* on the possibility of India accepting the arbitration offer suggested by the U.K. and U.S.A. for peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute. Krishna Menon also requested Nehru not to accept President Truman's offer of his plane for Nehru to travel from England to the United States as "it appears to make it a command performance."
3. In their reply India rejected the arbitration proposal of the Commission and asked for the terms of reference for arbitration to be spelled out, and a specific assurance on disbandment of 'Azad Kashmir' forces to be given, as India could ill-afford to see the repetition of the horrors of invasion, and if 'Azad Kashmir' forces were not disbanded "one of the essential conditions for holding a free and impartial plebiscite will not be satisfied."
4. See *post*, item 9.
5. See *post*, item 8.
6. Vijayalakshmi Pandit.

Truman's invitation. I would not have gone but for that. How can I refuse to travel by his plane, if he suggests it?

Nor do I understand why this should make people think that my visit is a command performance. I cannot help people's insinuations and false allegations. Anything less than a command performance, I cannot imagine. For a year or more I have been receiving invitations from the President of the U.S. At last I agreed. Whether my visit there is supposed to bolster up American policy or not, is a matter to be judged by events. As a matter of fact, our refusal to accept President Truman's advice in regard to the Kashmir matter is sufficient indication of how far we carry out the wishes of the U.S. Government.

As a matter of fact, I have not yet received what might be called a formal invitation to travel by the President's plane. The American Ambassador here showed me a private telegram to him stating this. Whether this was a formal invitation or not, I do not quite know....

Yours,
Jawaharlal

8. To Harry S. Truman¹

New Delhi
September 8, 1949

My dear Mr President,²

I thank you for your letter of the 30th August³ which your Ambassador presented to me on the 31st August. In view of the importance of its subject-matter, I had to consult my colleagues and the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. This will explain the slight delay in transmitting to you my reply.

2. I greatly appreciate the friendly solicitude which prompted you to write and particularly welcome your frankness because it enables me to write with equal candour. Since India became independent, and the creation of Pakistan was part of the scheme of transfer of power by Great Britain, we in India have been conscious of the need for peace and cooperation between ourselves and Pakistan. One striking example of the genuineness of our desire to be friendly to Pakistan was the

1. J.N. Collection.

2. President of the United States of America, 1945-53.

3. In his letter Truman urged India to agree to arbitration on the Kashmir dispute as recommended by the U.N.C.I.P. because unlike other Asian countries where "violent" revolutions had taken place, "it is of crucial importance to the sub-continent, to Asia, and to the world as a whole that this peaceful and orderly progress be maintained" and "localised disturbance, quickly brought under control."

transfer³ to its Government of the equivalent of approximately 150 million dollars at a time when we knew that Pakistan was aiding and abetting the invasion of Jammu and Kashmir and might use this money to further this aggression against India. I could cite other instances but do not wish to overweigh this letter with detail.

3. Kashmir undoubtedly is a cause of acute tension between Pakistan and us. But, as we have already pointed out to your Ambassador, there are other causes as well, the root cause being the emotional climate of Pakistan whose people are being constantly encouraged by its Government and leaders to pursue a policy inspired by fear of and hatred towards India in the false belief that India seeks to destroy this new State. Apart from other considerations, it is not to India's interest to have any such aim. Her paramount need is peace in the world, of which the maintenance of friendly relations with her neighbours is an essential condition. In particular, the maintenance of such relations with Pakistan is of the greatest importance because of historical, geographic, economic and other factors.

4. You have referred to the inability of my Government and the Government of Pakistan to agree through negotiations with the assistance of the United Nations Commission on the terms of truce in Jammu and Kashmir. We have, since the Commission first visited this sub-continent last year, given manifold proof of active cooperation with that body. The last example was our readiness to discuss truce terms, under the auspices of the Commission, with representatives of Pakistan. It was a matter of painful surprise to us that the Commission decided to abandon the idea of a conference, in our view primarily because Pakistan refused even to discuss some matters to which we attach importance, particularly the large-scale disbanding and disarming of the so-called 'Azad Kashmir' forces, a step to which, according to assurances given to us, the Commission has agreed. As we have repeatedly stated to the Commission, firm decisions to implement this assurance are a condition precedent to the withdrawal of our forces. Without satisfactory arrangements for large-scale disbanding and disarming of the 'Azad Kashmir' forces, the withdrawal of Indian forces will gravely imperil the security of the portion of the State held by us. And, unless there is this large-scale disbanding and disarming of the 'Azad Kashmir' forces, the conditions for a free and impartial plebiscite cannot come into being.

5. As regards the Commission's proposal for arbitration, I should like to state, at the outset, that India is not opposed to the principle of arbitration. Arbitration is, under Article 33(1) of the Charter of the United Nations, one of the methods of achieving a peaceful solution of a dispute which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, and India is a firm believer in the principles embodied in the Charter. The reference to arbitration should, however, be on a precise and defined issue which, if settled by that method, will have the effect of creating conditions for ending a dispute that threatens international peace

3. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 5, pp. 8-9.

and security. The proposal for arbitration as presented to us by the Commission does not satisfy the necessary conditions and we have found ourselves unable to accept it for reasons which are briefly set out below:

- (1) According to the interpretation given to us, the Arbitrator would have the authority not only to arbitrate but would also be free to determine the points on which he should arbitrate. So far as the Government of India are aware, this procedure is novel and without precedent and could hardly be justified.
- (2) The main difference between us and the Government of Pakistan is about the disbanding and disarming of the 'Azad Kashmir' forces. The Commission has given us an assurance that there is to be large-scale disbanding and disarming of these forces. If steps to implement the assurance are not taken immediately, it will be impossible for us, consistently with the necessity of safeguarding the portion of the Jammu and Kashmir state against a repetition of the horrors of the invasion of the valley in October 1947, to withdraw the bulk of our forces. Moreover, if there is to be no large-scale disbandment and disarming of the 'Azad Kashmir' forces, one of the essential conditions for holding a free and impartial plebiscite will not be satisfied. As we explained to the Commission's principal representative, Dr Lozano, when he discussed with us the draft of what subsequently became the Commission's Resolution of 5th January 1949, with such large number of members of the 'Azad Kashmir' forces under arms, it will be impossible for a substantial number of persons normally resident in the so-called 'Azad Kashmir' area, who are now refugees, to express their opinion freely regarding the future of the state.⁴ The large-scale disbanding and disarming of the 'Azad Kashmir' forces is, therefore, not a matter of arbitration but for affirmative and immediate decision.

6. I would also like to draw your attention to the fact that since the assurance regarding the disbanding and disarming of 'Azad Kashmir' forces was given to us by the Commission, the number of these forces has been increased by Pakistan considerably. For all practical purposes, they form a part of the Pakistan Army. The mere withdrawal of the regular Pakistan Army from the territory of Jammu and Kashmir state will thus leave a large and well-trained army, under Pakistan leadership, behind in the state territory. That will be contrary to the basis of the Resolution of the U.N. Commission of the 13th August 1948, and will create a new situation full of peril to the state. It is for this reason that we have laid stress

4. For aide memoire of the meetings with Alfredo Lozano and Eric Colban from 20 to 22 December 1948, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 9, pp. 219 to 224.

on the interdependence of the phasing of the withdrawal of their forces from the state with the disbanding and disarming of the 'Azad Kashmir' forces.

7. In conclusion, I wish to assure you that India does not wish the Kashmir or any other dispute to be settled by the sword. She will always be ready to consider a solution by any method that would lead to a peaceful settlement of the entire dispute.

May I ask you, Mr President, to accept the best wishes of the Government and people of India for the great nation of which you are the chosen head and, for yourself, the assurance of my most friendly sentiments and my highest consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. To C.R. Attlee¹

New Delhi
September 8, 1949

My dear Attlee,²

Kindly refer to the message about Kashmir which your High Commissioner delivered to me on the 30th of August.³ I regret that, owing to the time taken over the consideration of so important a matter, I could not send you a reply earlier. I feel sure, however, that you will make allowance for this unavoidable delay.

2. We have given the most careful consideration to the Commission's proposal for arbitration in the context of the factors mentioned by you as well as others that are relevant. You know the background of our dispute over the future of Jammu and Kashmir with Pakistan better than the President of the United States. I need not, therefore, repeat all that I have said in my reply to his message but have handed over a copy to Nye. As you will observe from this reply, and the detailed answer that we are sending to the Commission—a copy of this is also being supplied to Sir Archibald—we are not opposed to the principle of arbitration. Under Article

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Prime Minister of Britain, 1945-51.

3. In his message Attlee conveyed the "concern" of the British Government over the "lack of progress towards the conclusion of truce agreement in Kashmir" and added that because of the "troubled state of the world as a whole" and "consequential diversion of resources of your country from economic and social development" India and Pakistan should agree to "arbitration" and allow "the Plebiscite Administrator to begin his task in Jammu and Kashmir."

33(1) of the Charter of the United Nations, arbitration is one of the methods of achieving a peaceful solution of a dispute which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. India has subscribed to the Charter and is a firm believer in the principles embodied in it. The reference to arbitration, however, should be on a precise and defined issue which, if settled by this method, will have the effect of creating conditions for ending a dispute that threatens international peace and security. The proposal for arbitration as presented by the Commission does not satisfy the necessary conditions and we have found ourselves unable to accept it for reasons which are briefly set out below:³

4. In conclusion, I wish to assure you that India does not wish the Kashmir or any other dispute to be settled by the sword. She will always be ready to consider a solution by any method that would lead to a peaceful settlement of the entire dispute.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. See the preceding item, p. 221.

10. Record of Archibald Nye's Meeting with Nehru¹

I saw Pandit Nehru today and told him that I had read the documents handed to me by Bajpai yesterday and telegraphed their contents to London. I said it would be dishonest of me if I failed to say that the news that the Government of India had rejected the proposals of the Commission would be a very great disappointment to His Majesty's Government. I felt moreover that—in view of Pakistan's reported unconditional acceptance²—India's case would look very bad in the eyes of the world and India must expect unfavourable reactions almost everywhere. I added that I thought that it was inconsistent to say on the one hand that they did not reject the principle of arbitration but to say on the other that since the arbitration

1. Minutes by Sir Archibald Nye, the U.K. High Commissioner, of his meeting with Nehru in New Delhi on 9 September 1949. These were telegraphed to Commonwealth Relations Office, London, U.K. High Commissioner in Pakistan and U.K. Delegation to U.N. File No. L/P&S/13/1900, I.O.L.R. London.
2. On 6 September 1949.

may give an award which they would not like they were not prepared to accept the risk of arbitration.

2. Having said that much I wished to raise another issue. It was inconceivable to me that a man holding the responsible position which Nehru did could have rejected these proposals without very careful thought of the consequences which would follow. It was quite obvious that things could not remain as they were and I had no doubt that he was conscious of the duty which rested upon him to conceive some constructive proposals for the ending of this deadlock. Mr. Attlee had said in his message that he could think of none other than arbitration but perhaps Pandit Nehru was able to think of some method by which some solution could be found.

3. He then gave a long account of the background of the dispute and the reasons which had actuated the Indian Government to take the course which they had taken. In this he produced no arguments with which we were not already familiar but he stated them cogently, moderately and with obvious sincerity. It is my firm conviction that however mistaken one may feel the Indian arguments on the Kashmir case to be the views which he holds are completely sincere and I do not think that he is guilty of stating his case merely as one of political opportunism without believing it to be genuine. There is nothing machiavellian about this man.

4. When he had finished the exposition of the Indian case I remarked that all he had said this morning reinforced the view I had already expressed that he had nothing to fear from arbitration. I said that in some respects he had a good case, and although no claimant could expect to get 100% of his demands nevertheless he had no grounds for assuming that he would not receive a fair and patient hearing and a just award.

5. I asked him what suggestions he could make which would be helpful to those concerned in deciding what steps should be taken in the future. It seemed quite obvious to me that there was now no course open to the Commission but to report back to the Security Council and for the case to be reopened at Lake Success. He said he quite agreed that a mere negative approach to the problem could not be tolerated and he must be prepared to make some constructive suggestions. He said he thought there were three possibilities open:

- (a) A solution by fighting. (Here I interposed to say that there could be no possible solution on these grounds). He agreed that any such solution could only be temporary but he rejected the whole conception of military action as anathema to him and his country and the whole of their outlook, and said that such a solution only had to be mentioned to be rejected.
- (b) The possibility of continued stalemate. This was open to obvious objection because the strain on both countries was becoming intolerable from every aspect and he agreed when I remarked that it was unlikely the situation would remain static. It either had to improve or deteriorate.

- (c) A solution by agreement. This he added was the only satisfactory course open.

6. He then said that he had been giving a great deal of thought to the steps which should be taken to try to resolve the deadlock and what he was about to say represented nothing more than thinking aloud for he had not even discussed this possible solution with his colleagues or with Shaikh Abdullah. He outlined the grave difficulties which were in the way of carrying out anything like a satisfactory plebiscite within any reasonable time and said that, though he disliked the rough and ready plan of trying to divide the country, he was becoming more and more convinced that this was the most promising solution. Whilst he did not accept for one moment the suggestion that the majority of Muslims because they were Muslims would vote for Pakistan, he thought that it was true to say that the result of a free and impartial plebiscite, if one could be held, would be for the Poonch area to go to Pakistan and for the Jammu area to go to India, whilst it was doubtful which way the valley would vote. He thought further that a solution on the lines of Western Kashmir going to Pakistan, Jammu and possibly Ladakh to India and a plebiscite being confined to the valley and the area north of it (excluding Gilgit) was worthy of consideration. I said that from India's point of view this may well be so but did he really think there was any prospect of getting Pakistan to agree to any such proposal. I pointed out that Pakistan believed, and has good reason to believe, that there was a very good chance that an overall plebiscite would give a majority to Pakistan which would justify their claiming the whole country. He admitted that Pakistan might not be prepared to agree but thought there was a possibility that a solution could be found on some such lines.

7. I returned to the point however that these proposals amounted to nothing more than continued mediation which had already failed and there seemed to be no grounds for assuming that mediation would lead to any other results in the future than it had done in the past. If that was so it seemed as though after months of wrangling we would find ourselves back in the position where we are today with no other alternative open to us except arbitration, and I reiterated at some length and with considerable emphasis my strong feeling that India had nothing to lose by arbitration.

8. He then said that Kashmir was only one of the problems which was causing so much ill will between the two countries and referred to the dispute about evacuee property which was assuming alarming proportions and the dispute about the Punjab rivers and the canals which he regarded as of secondary importance. He said, however, in both these problems he would be perfectly willing to accept arbitration. He would agree to either a Commission of an Indian, a Pakistani and a neutral Chairman or, if necessary, to three neutrals, arbitrating on these questions. I promised that I would convey his views to the Prime Minister.

9. Whilst it therefore appears that little can be done in the near future in the Kashmir dispute, there is some prospect of us, quite outside the Security Council, taking some initiative in bringing the two sides together to arbitrate on the question of evacuee property and the waters of the Punjab. I gather that Nehru had written to Krishna Menon suggesting he should see the Prime Minister when passing through London in early October and I would suggest that this might be a suitable opportunity for us to take some practical steps to bring the two countries together on these very important matters.

10. I think there is no doubt that the arbitration proposal and more especially the messages from the President and Prime Minister, although they have not achieved their immediate object, have been worthwhile. They have at least brought the Indian Government up against the hard facts of the situation and induced a much greater realism than hitherto. This will I hope bear fruit when, as now seems likely, the Kashmir question goes back to the Security Council.

11. Telegram to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegrams 876 and 880.² We do not claim to hold on to Kashmir because of any legalistic argument. We abide by offer for plebiscite. But we have always insisted that Kashmir question cannot be properly judged unless the whole picture is seen. Essential part of this is aggression of Pakistan quite apart from accession of Kashmir to India. If this is condoned then aggression stands justified and will be repeated as in the past. There is some confusion about Pakistan referring to The Hague Court question of control of river waters. Dispute has been not about river waters from Kashmir but rivers from East Bengal to West Bengal. We are perfectly prepared for arbitration on this issue as well as on the much more vital issue of evacuee properties on both sides. No real question arises about flow of river waters from Kashmir to Pakistan. There is no possibility of rivers being stopped or diverted and in any case this can be settled and guaranteed.

Friends of India in England are always welcome but in this matter they should be told clearly that in our opinion they are completely in the wrong and their efforts

1. New Delhi, 11 September 1949. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Through these telegrams of 7 and 11 September, Krishna Menon informed Nehru that "our present position was wilfully or otherwise misrepresented" on the ground of India raising legalistic arguments.

in the past and now to settle Kashmir problem by encouraging Pakistan in its warlike intentions have only made it more difficult. As regards communities detailed figures given by *New Statesman*³ appear to be grossly exaggerated. We shall send you correct figures.

Comment of *Times*⁴ and *Economist*⁵ usually misconceived. In any event they strengthened prevailing impression in India. This serves only to harden Indian opinion on this and other issues. We want to be friendly with U.K. and U.S.A. but neither pressure tactics nor lure of help would make us give up a position which we are convinced is right from every point of view.

3. In an article published on 9 September 1949.
4. *The Times* (London) in its editorial on 10 September had commented that the Indian leaders had not "behaved well" on the Kashmir question.
5. On 10 September *The Economist* wrote: "It is hoped that the United States will with all tact keep up the necessary pressure."

12. Disbandment of the 'Azad Kashmir' Forces¹

India has given an assurance to Kashmir that she will protect her against aggression and because of that assurance India cannot accept arbitration on the question of disbandment of the 'Azad Kashmir' forces.

There are three major questions for settlement between Pakistan and India apart from other minor ones. They are Kashmir, evacuee property, and the issue of canal waters. The Kashmir question stands on a somewhat separate footing from the other two. You know its history. We have made a number of commitments in regard to Kashmir to the people of Kashmir, and to the people of India. We did not go to Kashmir to enforce any decision in our favour.

Naturally, for a variety of reasons, we would very much like Kashmir to continue to remain with India, but the final decision on that can only be by the people of Kashmir. We have said this always, and we did not say this to please Pakistan or as a kind of agreement between Pakistan and India. We said that as a result of an agreement between ourselves and the people of Kashmir and if you like, the people of the world.

1. Address to a press conference, Ambala, 19 September 1949. From *The Hindustan Times*, 20 September 1949.

That assurance, we are bound to honour. Another assurance that we gave and repeated to the people of Kashmir is that we would protect them against any attack or invasion. In the process of protecting them we have now spent a great deal in money and men and have undertaken a heavy burden. But we propose to carry out that assurance and not to accept anything which imperils or endangers the people of Kashmir. That has been the background of this problem.

If you clearly examine all the statements we have made during the last one and a half years and the resolutions we have accepted, always we have laid stress on two facts. First, is the decision by the people of Kashmir to finally decide the issue and we shall accept that decision, whether we like it or not, and secondly, we are going to take no risks and lay open the country to an unscrupulous invader. So the question of disbandment of the so-called 'Azad Kashmir' forces before the withdrawal of our forces arises. If we do not insist on this we lay Kashmir open to the invaders.

As a matter of fact, an assurance to this effect was given to us by the Commission in our talks last year. That is why a question like that is not open to arbitration. Because that involves reopening something that has been settled by an assurance to us and because it involves our own assurance and honour.

Nobody is going to arbitrate where our honour is concerned. Generally speaking, as we have made it clear, we are not opposed to arbitration in principle but arbitration must be on specific points which do not include questions which we consider as basic and settled and involve our own assurance and honour. Apart from that we quite gladly welcome any attempt at arbitration.

The question of evacuee property is a very big subject which involves the interests of vast numbers of persons in India and Pakistan. India is prepared for proper arbitration provided the terms of reference are laid down.

On the question of the canal waters India's case is a good one. We have offered repeatedly to the Pakistan Government to settle this question by mutual consultation. But our experience has been that it is very difficult to deal with the Pakistan Government in such matters. They do not wish to commit themselves, and if and when any commitment is made it is unmade later on.

All these matters could be settled by negotiation and, where necessary, by arbitration. I am prepared to say definitely on behalf of our own Government that we should not wish to settle any matter as between India and Pakistan by the sword. We are prepared to submit to any other peaceful method. Naturally, this assurance can only become complete if the other side is agreeable to it and gives similar assurances, as otherwise they become one-sided.

The current trend in Pakistan, where leading politicians and the press, deliver speeches and continuously write in a particular way, is deplorable. Whether political or other conditions induced them to do so, I do not know. It is not the kind of way responsible statesmen are supposed to talk. It only incites their own people and rouses passions. In contrast, I am gratified to observe conditions in East Punjab.

People here are quite cool and calm and I find no excitement. They may feel otherwise but that is a different matter. I prefer calm and solid work as against the fever of excitement as it is ultimately hard work which gives strength to a nation.

India is not interested in war with Pakistan and it does not want war with Pakistan and will not have war with Pakistan. Of course, if we are attacked, it is a different matter. War can only be injurious to all concerned. We want to get on with our work and Pakistan should get on with hers.

In another fortnight I will be leaving for the U.S.A. at the invitation of the U.S. President and I am eagerly looking forward to the visit. Naturally, when I go there I shall discuss a number of matters with the people in authority there and, wherever necessary, I shall place our Government's points of view in regard to various problems before us and the world.

At present the Central Government cannot extend any financial aid for the construction of a capital for the province. Apart from this, it has not yet been decided as to where the capital should be situated and it is for the provincial Government to settle this essential preliminary.

I attach the greatest importance to the question of the rehabilitation of East Punjab. This is intimately connected with the proposed capital and sooner the provincial Government decides the question the better. Delay will be harmful.

I am glad that I visited East Punjab because I have formed a very favourable impression of things here and despite many weaknesses Punjab will forge ahead.

I am particularly glad to learn that in Ludhiana District several thousand Muslims were invited back by the villagers themselves and were given back their original lands. This is a very wise thing which shows to the rest of India and to the world that conditions in East Punjab have returned to normalcy. It also shows that the passions that were roused have largely died down and that India's methods of dealing with these problems are very different from those of Pakistan. I have also heard in certain other districts that individual artisans and their families have been invited to return to their villages.

During my tour I did not come across any particular ill-feeling between Hindus and Sikhs. Nobody desires to detain Master Tara Singh. It is not directly my concern, but the Governments are frequently considering this matter. So far as Master Tara Singh's health is concerned my information is that he is not ill, though not in perfect health.

13. To Lord Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
September 22, 1949

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Thank you for your letter of the 2nd September and for sending me the rough design of the new cap badges for the Indian Navy. I am sending them on to Baldev Singh.

As the time for my leaving India is drawing near, I am both excited and overwhelmed. Overwhelmed with a multitude of problems that have to be dealt with before I go, excited at the prospect of being in a sense out of school for sometime. Not that this visit to America is going to be a holiday. The programme is a terrific one; that I do not mind very much. There is a lot of speaking. In India I would not mind that. But America is a different matter. To my horror I am asked to write down these speeches, as they are important and no risks can be taken. I dislike this business of writing down speeches intensely. In any event how can I write down half a dozen or more important speeches, not to mention numerous lesser ones?

The Kashmir problem remains as insoluble as ever and perhaps there is more tension now than ever before. Meanwhile the threats and vulgarity of Pakistan continue on an ever-ascending scale. I am afraid Pakistan is a pathological case and it is becoming more and more difficult to discuss anything with them reasonably. The United Nations Commission are soon departing for Geneva to write their report. Probably the matter will come up before the Security Council before the end of October.

A piece of bad news came from Kashmir today. Major-General Atma Singh,² who has been in command of the Jammu area, died this morning. His jeep collided with a military lorry resulting in his sudden death. He was a fine officer and had done good work.

I have now, after your full explanation, understood somewhat the mystery about your varying naval rank. I must confess that all this is rather complicated.

Vallabhbhai Patel has recovered from his relapse and is coming back to Delhi in two or three days' time after his rest in Bombay. But he is not too strong and I do not think he will grow any stronger or fitter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. (1905-1949); commissioned to the Indian Army, 1926; commanded troops in Jammu; came into prominence in November 1948 when he led a strike force across 60 kms of the most difficult mountainous terrain in Jammu region from Rajauri to the beleaguered Poonch garrison.

14. Kashmir—the Basic Facts¹

Sher-e-Kashmir, Comrades and Compatriots,

Sitting here, I was just thinking how we would view the present—five, seven or ten years hence. Perhaps then we will be able to look at it more objectively. We will not be in the midst of today's passions and harassments and so we will be able to look at our mistakes and successes from a distance. I wonder what my views would be then, not only about Kashmir but about the whole of India, if I were still alive. Perhaps many of the things which trouble us today will have no importance by then and I would have forgotten them. Some of these things will however continue to remain fresh in my mind. There are many such things, but one of them specially is the story of Kashmir in the last two years. I will also be reminded of the day when I came here two years ago, at the beginning of November, and attended a huge meeting in the heart of Srinagar, just two or three days after the enemy had been thrown out. That and many such pictures will always be in my mind, as also today's conference for many reasons. First of all, this Conference is important because it is having its annual meeting after nearly four years. By a curious coincidence, I took part in your previous meeting also held in Sopore, in August 1945. I think we had been released a few weeks earlier from the Ahmadnagar Fort. The meeting was not a success because Mr Jinnah did not want it to succeed. He obstructed it in all kinds of ways. This happened four years ago and there have been many ups and downs in these last four years, and you are quite aware of what happened in Kashmir itself.

So I thought about the day I spoke at the meeting of the Conference at Sopore and then I recollected the scene before me: dotted trees which obstructed the light and the mountains in the distance which seemed to encircle us. This is the picture of Kashmir which is often in my mind. Well, if you think about Kashmir ten years hence, I do not know what memories will come to your mind. I know I shall have many memories because it has a strange story.

I would like to tell you in all sincerity that I may have defects but I am not submerged in politics so that I cannot say a thing in a straightforward manner. In fact, often the complaint against me is that I speak about matters which no active politician should talk about.

So, when I think about the events of the last two years, and earlier too—because my relationship with Kashmir is a long-standing one, I cannot understand how, when and on what matters of policy the Government of India had erred. I am not

1. Speech at the annual session of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, Srinagar, 24 September 1949. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L. (Original in Hindi).

speaking in the heat of the moment though if you or I did become emotional in this matter it would not be wrong. There is a passion, a fire, in my heart. But that fire can be governed only by a calm mind. If the fire reaches the brain it reduces the capacity of the brain to think. So there should be a fire in the heart but the head should remain cool. Only then can a person function properly.

Therefore, I wonder whether the steps I took on behalf of the Government of India were the right steps or not. It is possible that we may have committed small mistakes but I cannot perceive anything wrong on principle with our actions. In fact, if we had not taken those steps, we would have felt ashamed forever. This is what I feel.

Ten years hence when I shall think about the incidents of these two years I shall be reminded of many things, the first one being that when the news reached us in Delhi that we were under attack, we were in a terrible dilemma as to what we should do. The heart pulled us in one direction but the mind cautioned that there is a danger in it and that no country can afford to get carried away and take any unnecessary risks. It was a very difficult problem for my colleagues and myself. But ultimately the heart won over the mind and we decided to take action, and our troops flew in gradually. If you ask me, I did not have any idea then that the matter would become so long-drawn or that we would need to send troops in such large numbers. So the situation developed step by step and the whole thing became quite clear.

I cannot understand how any individual in the world who looks at this problem from the point of a principle can reach but one conclusion. It was a simple, straightforward case. Here was a state, which was facing some problems, sporadic fighting, etc., but on the whole it was peaceful, and suddenly a neighbouring country started attacking, looting, murdering and ruining. This is the crux of the problem, quite simply. Lawyers and administrators may write long tomes about it. We too made long statements and presented lengthy arguments but people often forget the broad facts in the jungle of arguments and debates. But it will be better for you and me and the world to bear these facts in mind constantly, and even if the world forgets them at any time, you and I cannot forget them under any circumstances. If we do, we will have to face the consequences. What is the meaning of this kind of wanton aggression, whatever the reasons and excuses might be? Is it justifiable to come in suddenly like this, attack and kill people and ruin a state? I would like to ask everyone this question. By what law, what right, can any country in the world justify such an act? Long arguments are presented and all sorts of arguments are presented to us. But I can under no circumstances think of any justification in it, and I am sure that you will also agree with me. Therefore, we must always bear the beginning of this problem in mind.

I would again like to take you back a little. Just now Shaikh Abdullah spoke to you about the complicated problems he had to face in regard to Kashmir and India, when he came out of jail. It was difficult for him to form any opinion about

the impact of events in India on Kashmir, also since he had been in jail for a long time he could not meet his colleagues for consultations. It was not easy to find answers to those questions. Therefore, he has advised you to consider these problems carefully and to weigh everything before coming to a decision. Nothing should be done in a hurry. We have to see what steps will benefit the people of Kashmir most. After all, ultimately the only yardstick for measuring such things is to see, what would benefit the forty million people of Kashmir and what would harm them. This has to be carefully thought about with a calm mind. We cannot afford to forget this because of any other sentiment or relationships. Therefore he told you all this.

A few days after his release he came to Delhi to see me and it was my desire also to meet him. So we met, and our colleagues also met him. What was the question before us? The main question was that of Partition, and the reaction of the princely states to it. I am not complaining but the British had left the question of princely states wide open to all sorts of quarrels and complications. You might say that it is our good fortune that by and large this question of the princely states has been resolved peacefully. This was because of the pressure of circumstances and because those who were directly involved in this took very sensible steps. So the problem has been more or less resolved. But the British had left the matter in a tangle and an amazing result of their decision could have been the fragmentation of India into hundreds of independent states, big and small, responsible to no one except themselves. Just imagine what a strange situation would have been created if every state would have considered itself independent. Neither India nor the states could have lasted very long in this way. It would have meant complete disaster. Well, anyhow, it did not happen that way.

The question that arose was what was Kashmir to do, especially as it was situated on the borders of both India and Pakistan and both of them had their eyes on it. So what was Kashmir to do? Shaikh Saheb consulted us and informed us about his views which he had expressed to his colleagues. I told him that in my opinion his views were absolutely right and proper because taking a hasty decision in such circumstances, especially when Kashmir was facing enormous difficulties, could lead to all sorts of problems later. So my colleagues and I and, as far as I can remember, Mahatma Gandhi also gave him the same advice. We told him that it did not matter if the whole thing continued unresolved for sometime but there was no reason why a decision should be taken in a hurry. It is obvious that, in my capacity both as an Indian and a Kashmiri, my desire was that Kashmir should continue to have close relations with India. This was my great desire. I also knew that the elder statesmen in Pakistan wanted that Kashmir should join Pakistan. I can well understand their desire because after all Kashmir is invaluable. There is nothing surprising if they also wanted Kashmir. So their desire was neither strange nor surprising with the result that there were two conflicting desires —India's and Pakistan's. The question was who was to decide this matter and in what way? I held the view that it could be decided only in one way—let the people of Kashmir

decide for themselves. Therefore, in spite of my intense desire, I maintained silence, except occasionally to express my views very lightly.

Had the people of Kashmir decided formally at that very time to join Pakistan, the situation would have been different. You already know what happened from June to September that year. Then, in the month of October there were infiltrations and a planned attack, and rapidly followed the other steps which you took, we took, and then our forces were brought in, as you know. After that we approached the United Nations which kept debating this issue for months at Lake Success, followed by a Commission which came and stayed here from then for nearly a year, and took some decisions. It is obvious that the members of the Commission who came made all possible efforts on their part to resolve this problem and are still doing so and will probably continue to do so. But I am unable to understand one thing. Why did they not examine such a simple, straightforward matter in our presence and give their views? After all, it was a factual matter.

What can I say about that just now in my official capacity? When I see you, two things overlap in my mind—one is my personal relationship with Kashmir which overshadows everything else and I begin to speak like a Kashmiri, and the other is my position as the Prime Minister of India. So now I will tell you a few things in my capacity as the Prime Minister of India, from a position of responsibility.

We had decided before Kashmir was attacked that the people of Kashmir should decide about their future themselves. If our advice had any value, we would have strongly recommended to you that, in our interest as well as in the interest of Kashmir, you should continue to have relations with India. We would have made all possible efforts to make you understand our views but ultimately the decision would have been yours. We would not have put any pressure on you. When this attack on Kashmir took place, immediately this question arose and we were told that Kashmir wanted to have relations with India, that it would accede to India, and that India should help Kashmir militarily. After much deliberation, we accepted it. There was no pressure of any kind on us to accept it. This call for help came to us from two sides—one, from the Maharaja, that is the legally constituted Government there, and second, from *Sher-e-Kashmir* and his colleagues of the National Conference, which is the biggest organization here of the common people. Thus we got a call for help from both sides, from the Government as well as from the people. I agree that there may have been many people who may not have liked it. But it is also obvious, and nobody can deny the fact, that no organization can hope to compete with the National Conference whose stature in Kashmir has been well established for the last fifteen to eighteen years.

It is obvious that at such a crucial moment when we had to come to a decision, in twenty four or rather twelve hours' time, there was no time for holding a referendum to find out from the people of Kashmir what their views were about accession to India. We knew that we could not seek the people's vote on this issue because the decision had to be made quickly. We had all the papers before us,

complete, from the legally constituted Government, and from the biggest organization of the common people—an organization which had fought for the last sixteen or seventeen years for the freedom of Kashmir. What further proof did we need? These were enough proofs and there can be no complaint from anyone against us as to why we accepted the whole proposal without changing or adding anything in it. We were not the ones who initiated any proposal. There is enough evidence to show that it was brought up by the Kashmir Government. But call it our sensitive mind, or whatever else, or decency and integrity of principles, we made one condition. We said we would accept Kashmir's accession to India, but since we always held that the decision should be by the people, the referendum must be held at some future date before the accession takes place. They said they did not feel that the people were against it. Please remember there was no pressure on us. In spite of this we said it. To whom did we say it? To whom did we give our word? We were not dealing with Pakistan. We said it on our own to the people of Kashmir. We said this to the people of Kashmir before the entire world. We did not make a silent gesture. If we are answerable to anyone it is only to you. Had we done anything against your wishes, we would have been answerable to the world as to why we did not fulfil our promise. This is how all this came about.

Then a number of resolutions were passed in the last two years. You will remember that in August 1948, that is, more than a year ago, the United Nations Commission gave an award which was accepted by us but not by Pakistan.

Yes, I must tell you one thing more about this. We had been saying right from the beginning that this attack on Kashmir had taken place with the help of Pakistan. A few days later we collected more evidence to prove that the Pakistan Government not merely encouraged these raiders into Kashmir but helped them directly with arms, transport lorries, oil, food, ammunition, etc., trained them, and even sent their troops with them. From the evidence before us it was obvious that Pakistani forces had also joined them secretly.

Our forces came in here, not secretly, but openly, with fanfare, because you had called us. They came here to serve you. Pakistani forces also came in but not openly. Pakistan said it did not send them but that they had gone on their own. The Pakistani forces were spoiling for a war and so they came here in hundreds and thousands to form a new army here. Whenever we mentioned this to the United Nations Commission or to the United Nations Organization in New York, the Ambassador of Pakistan always denied it angrily and dismissed it as baseless and repeated that they were in no way involved in the matter. He said that since the Muslims were in a majority in Kashmir, it could be understood that Kashmir wanted to accede to Pakistan. He said it was obvious that this matter was not open to argument and that Pakistan was interested in having Kashmir but it was an absolute lie that Pakistan had sent in its troops or that it had helped the raiders in any way. The Pakistan Ambassador was very emphatic about this and repeatedly asserted this. A few months after that the United Nations Commission came here: it went

first to Karachi and then to Delhi. It was obvious that we had a great deal of evidence. We had opened an exhibition in Delhi to exhibit Pakistani arms and ammunition captured by us during the war. So it was impossible to hide the fact that Pakistan forces were present in Kashmir. The Pakistan Government, therefore, had to accept it. We came to know through our secret intelligence and they accepted before the Commission that their troops were stationed here but, they said, the circumstances were such that they could not help it and that it had not been done willingly. They further said that they suddenly apprehended danger to Pakistan, so they had to march into Kashmir. Earlier, we had repeatedly sent telegrams and letters to the Pakistan Government from Delhi asking for an explanation for the presence of their troops of which we had plenty of evidence. What we asked them was their answer now, since they had vehemently denied it earlier but secretly accepted the fact before the Commission. We sent yet another telegram asking for their explanation for the presence of troops. Please believe me they again denied that their troops were present here and gave the whole thing a new twist and said that our question was quite unreasonable and that they would not answer it. It is a strange situation.

Well, anyhow, what they had been denying vehemently for six months in New York has been proved true. For them I do not want to use the word which is used to describe an individual who says things which are later proved untrue. When a country indulges in such activities, there is no faith left in its word and at no forum of the world it is believed.

These are the basic facts of the Kashmir story. After that, in August 1948, the Commission passed a resolution which we accepted but Pakistan rejected. In that resolution, the Commission had gently hinted that they did not find the situation exactly as it had been stated, that is, it was a way of saying that what had been said earlier was a lie. The resolution said that the situation was not quite the same, and that a new situation had arisen, a new position. It had to be accepted that Pakistan troops were present here, which had been earlier denied by Pakistan. Therefore the Commission was compelled to decide, first of all, that all Pakistani troops, their regular troops as well as the others, should leave Kashmir. The Commission felt that this was the first duty of Pakistan. The Commission wrote to us also to withdraw some of our troops. They said there should not be too many troops in Kashmir as it might lead to the accusation that the Indian forces were pressurizing the people to prevent them from expressing their real views. There were many other things too.

We accepted this resolution. But from the beginning we made a few things clear to the Commission. We told them that if they tried to withhold facts about the Kashmir issue and did not make a clear statement, it would establish a bad precedent. We said, if you start with a wrong premise then the suspicion arises that the ultimate decision may also be wrong. Therefore it should be clearly put down that the Pakistan troops had attacked Kashmir and it was an aggression. Whether it was legal or illegal, right or wrong, proper or improper, this would have to be decided

by them. Only when that was decided, other matters should be taken up. They said that our contention was quite true and that they had hinted as much when they mentioned that the situation was not exactly what it had been made out to be. They felt that they could not possibly say more, as it would further increase the tension, and that it would not be tolerated by the others. They said they were after all here to settle matters. I said it was up to them, they could put down whatever they thought proper. But any attempt to conceal facts would lead to harmful results later. They replied that there was no attempt at concealment and that matters had been made quite clear.

Well, anyhow, the other issue that we brought up was that we had sent our troops into Kashmir due to the pressure of circumstances and at the invitation of the people of Kashmir. We saw that if we failed to send our troops because of our other commitments, Kashmir would be ruined while we looked on. How could anyone expect us to sit quietly and watch this happening? It was not as though by not sending in our troops and by allowing Kashmir to be ruined, there would have been greater peace between India and Pakistan. If we had hesitated even a little then, if the Government of India had shown any weakness, and if Kashmir had been ruined, then some other government would have come to power and taken up this matter afresh, because the people of India would not have tolerated the destruction of such a beautiful state and its people.

We sent in our troops not to attack or to occupy the state but for the protection of the people, and at their invitation. We also promised that the troops would remain as long as Kashmir needed protection. We will fulfil our promise. When the Commission said in their resolution that we should withdraw our troops from here, we replied that we were prepared to accept it on the condition that we would first assess if Kashmir was likely to face any danger by the withdrawal of our troops. We will not let it fall into the danger of facing the possibility of another ruinous attack and destruction from inside or outside. We will weigh the strength of our forces here against this eventuality, and see whether they were necessary for the defence of Kashmir, and if so what should be their strength. We said we do not wish to keep a single soldier here if Kashmir is safe, if there is no danger to Kashmir and if the people of Kashmir tell us that they do not need us any more. It is true that if Pakistan withdraws all her forces from here, as per the August 1948 Resolution, and a few other things are implemented, then Kashmir will not be in as great a danger as before and we can also withdraw a large part of our troops from here. But we still need to keep our forces here to ensure that Kashmir is not attacked again because the fact is that it is very easy for Pakistan forces to attack Kashmir. They are sitting right at the doorstep and could be here in a matter of a few hours or a day or two. Therefore, unless we are fully convinced that this problem has been solved, that Kashmir is completely safe, and that there is no danger of an attack, we cannot withdraw our troops nor can we let the people of Kashmir face danger once again. As soon as the threat recedes, we will gradually withdraw our troops.

It was only after making this matter quite clear that we accepted the Resolution. Pakistan did not accept it, but we did. In spite of that the issue dragged on and the Commission could not come to any clear decision. Then six months passed. In December 1948, we had talks with the Commission again and they made a new proposal. What was that proposal? It was the old one of August, with certain new suggestions for the future. Anyhow, after much discussion, we told them quite clearly, orally as well as in writing our arguments; they accepted these. We had already made it quite clear that if Pakistan withdrew her troops, at least Kashmir would not be in such grave danger as before. We also discussed the matter of disarming the people of the so-called 'Azad Kashmir', because they could also obviously attack Kashmir and at that time their forces were pretty large in numbers. Well, anyhow, we made these things clear once again and accepted their decision in December and ultimately Pakistan also accepted it. Since it had been accepted, we thought that we should at least announce a ceasefire which might not have meant peace, but at least would stop the meaningless killings, which seemed to us to be absolutely wrong. Though we had been attacked, we had constantly made efforts to solve this issue by peaceful methods. Just now I reminded you that in August we accepted the Resolution of the Commission though Pakistan did not. We have repeatedly maintained that in regard to this issue we are concerned only with Kashmir and not with Pakistan, except to see that their troops are withdrawn from here. Therefore we brought up the issue of ceasefire ourselves and advised Pakistan to do the same and ultimately, on the first of January this year, a ceasefire came into force.

I am just trying to show where our duty lies in this matter. Broadly, there are two or three issues which are involved. First, we have said that the ultimate decision about this problem rests with the people of Kashmir. How it is to be done is a different matter. Let me tell you what I had in mind when I first said this. Two years ago, in 1947, when this subject came up, it was my opinion that the best way to decide was by plebiscite because it would give an opportunity to your representatives to have consultations and to observe the situation in the world, in India and Pakistan, etc. But if some other way is found, that too was acceptable to us on the condition that the people of Kashmir are given full opportunities to express their views and that no pressure of any kind is exerted. You and I are well aware of Pakistan's ways. Whatever the problem, whether it is political, economic or social, it is not discussed by Pakistan as a specific issue, and instead religion is brought in to exercise pressure. Religion is all right, but Pakistan uses it to deceive people because they feel that by appealing to sentiment people would be prevented from considering an issue objectively and would cast their vote in their favour in a moment of passion. You must have seen the kind of posters they bring out or the statements that their elder statesmen and ministers make. It has no connection with reality or with the welfare of Kashmir. They want the Muslims to do *jehad*, and since there are Muslims in Kashmir, they expect that the Muslims of Pakistan should do *jehad*.

These are some of the questions which come up again and again. If you consider it carefully, what does it mean except that they want to divert people's attention from the real issues, so that people take a hasty decision, carried away by a momentary passion. After all, there is no religious issue involved in this.

There is another matter that we made quite clear to the Commission right at the beginning. We said we would make full arrangements to hold a plebiscite, as they desired, but we will not permit Pakistanis to come here and interfere, by making inflammatory speeches, and distort a purely political issue by giving it a religious garb, or incite people to riot, etc. in order to divert their attention from the real issue. So we repeatedly told the Commission that we would neither permit this nor give Pakistan an opportunity to do such things.

Everyone has full freedom to express what he likes about political issues. But we have had enough of fighting and riots in India by the protagonists of Pakistan. In fact, the League had its roots in such things, which spread the poison of communalism in the people's minds and hearts which ultimately led to the tremendous trauma of Partition which brought ruin and bloodshed in its wake. So, we will not permit such things in Kashmir. The people will of course have full freedom to express their views. We informed the Commission that if they go through the bundles of posters, leaflets, papers and pamphlets which were being distributed in the government offices here, they will realize that the Pakistan Government's arguments are based on communalism only and that they talk only in terms of Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus, and *jehad*. Religion is being used to incite simple, straightforward people. Does this seem like a normal act of a responsible individual or Government? They have no logical arguments to offer, so they want to take shelter behind such things.

Well, the situation today is that after the ceasefire, on the 1st of January, efforts were made to resolve the matter further. But so far no success has been achieved because of the complications created by the so-called 'Azad Kashmir' area and its forces. As you know, there have been some proposals for an agreement. You may have read the statements made by the Indian and Pakistani Governments, so I will not repeat them.

So this is the situation at present. I will again repeat the stand of the Government of India, that whatever is done in Kashmir will be done ultimately only by the consent of the people of Kashmir. I will go so far as to say, let us forget about this war in Kashmir and remember our policy that we have no desire to rule by the sword or to pressurize anyone. We want to maintain freedom in all corners of India. It is true that my dearest wish is that the relationship between Kashmir and India should continue and I can tell you in my capacity as a Kashmiri that if, by any chance, Kashmir decides to join Pakistan I have no doubt whatsoever that Kashmir will be ruined. India does not stand to gain very much by it, but Kashmir will be completely ruined. I do not mean that the Hindus and Sikhs of Kashmir will be ruined. I am talking about the inner strength of Kashmir, her culture,

her famous arts and skills, etc. It is possible that Kashmir may wake up after a few years' of suffering, because ultimately no people ever die out, but it will certainly face ruin and disaster for twenty to thirty years. But, as I said in the beginning, my wishes do not really count. Ultimately the decision rests with the people of Kashmir.

But one thing I will never permit: that in the process of plebiscite foul means are allowed to be adopted or Pakistan is allowed to come and interfere, foment communal troubles and raise a storm. I am warning you that Pakistan is quite capable of causing communal riots which may sway people's opinions. But we will not permit it. I know you too will not permit it. If this is made quite clear, then the people can be asked to vote. That would mean real freedom to choose, on condition that there is no outside interference and no fighting over it. Let the people decide.

I have repeatedly said that I feel that in every conceivable way—legally, juridically or from any other point of view or principle—the Indian Government is hundred per cent right and each one of its steps has been absolutely correct. Therefore I have every right to use all possible force, even military force, to throw out the enemy. But in spite of having this right in the last two years we have made twelve attempts to solve this problem by peaceful methods. We took the matter to the United Nations because we are convinced that no problem can be solved by war. I believe that even if there is a war efforts have to be made to find a peaceful solution. There have been great wars in the world, great victories and great defeats. But has any problem been really solved by war? One big War ended four years ago and today there is talk of war once again. So nothing can be solved by wars and large-scale killings and destruction. Therefore, as far as possible, I want to have no war with any Government.

As you know, we fought the war for India's freedom during the last thirty years. What was the lesson taught by our great leader? He taught us the lesson of peace and nonviolence. We were weak and could not follow the path shown by him properly. But even so, India's freedom was won by those methods alone. So after having followed these lessons for thirty years how can I like victories through wars? Therefore, in spite of our being aware that we have a full right here, I will try my best to come to a peaceful agreement. In this connection, I have gone so far as to say that I am prepared to tell Pakistan, our close neighbour, that we should declare that we will not try to solve any problem at the point of the sword but come to an agreement by peaceful methods and mutual consultations. Whatever happens we will not resort to force. I invited Pakistan and other neighbouring countries to make a declaration to this effect but no reply came. As far as the other neighbouring countries are concerned, they are our friends. But no reply came from Pakistan. There are many problems awaiting solution. The question of Kashmir, the property of hundreds and thousands of people who have migrated from one side to the other, are some of the big issues confronting us. I have said that

we should declare that we will not resort to force to solve these problems even though it may take a long time. But at the same time if there is any attack upon us, we will face it with swords and guns because unfortunately no other effective method of defence has been evolved so far.

So this is the situation at present. As far as the Kashmir problem is concerned, I am prepared to take anyone's advice and help in solving it without resorting to force. On the other hand, the newspapers of Pakistan are full of talk of war and *jehad*. I am amazed at how well-educated men make statements to the effect that India is trying to rob Pakistan. I am ashamed too because though Pakistan may have become another country today, in my eyes it is no alien country. It was my country till recently and even today my friends and colleagues live there. I wonder how can anyone make such atrocious attempts to instigate the people against us. But I am not in the least worried about it and I would say that you too need not worry. I would like you to go about your daily tasks as if there is no threat of war. But as we cannot function always according to our own wishes, so it is obvious that we have to be prepared. But you must go about your daily routine and occupations without fear or panic at rumours, and at the same time, be in a state of preparedness.

I would like to tell you one thing more, though I have taken up a great deal of your time. The argument is often put forward, especially in the British newspapers, that when India agreed to the Partition of the country, it was quite evident that she accepted the two-nation theory put forward by Mr Jinnah. These newspapers say, when you have accepted this, why then do you create problems in Kashmir which is predominantly a Muslim state? I am greatly astonished at the extent of the misconceptions in the minds of those who write such things because their argument is basically and fundamentally wrong. At no time did we in India accept Mr Jinnah's two-nation theory, nor will we ever accept it. As you know the *Sher-e-Kashmir* also never accepted it in Kashmir; in fact, he always opposed it.

It is true that taking everything into account we felt, rightly or wrongly, that instead of having widespread riots, we should permit some of the provinces to decide for themselves as to which country they wished to join. It would have been better if the common people had been given the opportunity to decide it. Anyhow, we did not accept the two-nation theory of Mr Jinnah. We merely gave a few provinces, like Sind, Punjab, the North Western Frontier Province, Baluchistan, a part of Bengal and a part of Assam, the right to decide whether they would join India or Pakistan. They expressed their views—I do not know whether they were right or wrong—but on that basis certain decisions were taken. Therefore what we accepted was merely that some parts of India should be allowed to express their wishes as to whether they wanted to remain in India or secede. We did not for a moment accept the two-nation theory. How could we accept it? Accepting the two-nation theory would have meant that the Muslims living in India were no longer citizens of the country but would become aliens and the same would

have been true of Hindus living in Pakistan. Four crores of Muslims are living in India. They would all have become aliens. Even in principle I was not prepared to accept it. If, unfortunately, every single Muslim in India had accepted it, even then I was not prepared to accept that theory of Mr Jinnah.

Principles cannot be given up just because people get carried away by momentary passions and take wrong steps. Instead of four crore Muslims even if only four lakh or four thousand or only forty Muslims had been living in India, I would not have given up this principle even if others would not have agreed with me in this matter. This matter does not relate to Pakistan alone. If I am willing to give up my principle, then I will have to accept—which I am not willing to—that no one except Hindus can live in India. I do not know how many lakhs of Christians have been living in India for nearly 1500 years. Then there are Buddhists, Jews and also Jains. Buddhists are living in Ladakh and elsewhere in India. And people of so many other religions are living here. Our doors are always open to everyone, irrespective of their caste or creed. The two-nation theory is a very strange idea. Accepting it means that we create a peculiar state in which nobody else can come nor can we go anywhere else. It was because of that theory that Pakistan was created. I welcome Pakistan. But I have not understood till now how Pakistan can follow that principle and I can say with great certainty that it will face difficulties before long.

So we cannot accept the two-nation theory. Because of this theory wrong sentiments and wrong passions were created in the people. But instead of fighting with them we told them that if they wished to leave, they could do so with pleasure, though we would be saddened by their decision. When did we accept the two-nation or any such theory? We have never accepted it nor will we ever accept it. So it would be very wrong to apply it to Kashmir and say that since Muslims live in Kashmir, so let them go. It would be something quite wrong and absurd. But leaving aside for the moment what could have happened in the Punjab or Bengal or elsewhere, one thing has always been quite clear, even before Partition, that the *Sher-e-Kashmir* has always opposed the two-nation theory in Kashmir. And rightly so, because the picture that he and you had in mind about the new Kashmir would have been abandoned if you had accepted the two-nation theory, and the very foundations of your thinking would have changed. Therefore I cannot understand what the matter is.

Do words convey different meanings? Are the minds of those who read and write and express their views in England and America different from mine? Here I say something and it is interpreted quite differently by them. Or do they consider me a liar and a dishonest person? I would like to make it quite clear that we neither accepted the two-nation theory at that time nor are we likely to do so now or in the future, because the moment we do so the picture of India which is in our mind will be distorted. And then some other people will take over from us and run the country.

Kashmir is a very thorny problem. It has become a sort of testing ground for you and me and, rightly or wrongly, for these theories and principles. As I told you in the University,² along with the military battles that are being fought, there is a tremendous ideological battle, a battle of principles and of ideas which has to be settled by you and me one way or the other. It will have an impact not only on Kashmir but on the future of India and Pakistan. Therefore you must realize that the problem is a very complicated one. If we enter into long arguments with the Commission, it is because Kashmir is very dear to us. We do not want to be parted from Kashmir. We do not want that Kashmir should join Pakistan and be ruined. But, in fact, this issue is a fundamental one and is tied up with the future of India. So you must look at it from that point of view.

Well, I have taken up a lot of your time. But I wanted to put it clearly before you that you and I have to understand this problem properly, without being carried away by momentary passions or emotions, and form our views. A great deal of blood has been shed in Kashmir and in India, and I do not know whether still more blood will have to be shed. If bloodshed stops, it will be a good thing. But while bloodshed may stop, there is still so much work before us that tears will not stop for a long time to come. Many tears will be shed and alongside it sweat also will have to be shed. There is no time for leisure. Well, we do not want leisure, we are prepared to work hard for the sake of our country's progress. But the hard work has to be in the right direction and for right principles. Then that labour also becomes light. Therefore I and you have to understand these things properly.

So, I have tried to put before you the thoughts which were in my mind and heart.

2. See *post*, pp. 276-279.

15. To K.M. Cariappa¹

New Delhi
October 2, 1949

My dear Cariappa,²

Shaikh Abdullah, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad and some other members of the Kashmir Government have come here today and I met them this evening. They told me that the Pakistan troops were not withdrawing from their old positions south of the Kishenganga to the new ceasefire line as settled at the conference held in Karachi two months ago.³ We have in fact withdrawn from one or two positions according to that decision.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. He was Commander-in-Chief, Indian Army, 1949-53.

3. A new ceasefire line was settled at an Inter-Dominion Conference of military officials at Karachi from 18 to 28 July 1949.

You will remember that I wrote to you on this subject over a month ago⁴ and pointed out that there should be no delay in giving effect to the Karachi decisions about the ceasefire line. I took exception to General Delvoie extending the period of one month to two months. The one month had been formally decided at the Karachi conference and I saw no reason why Delvoie should have authority to extend that period. However, that was done. Now another month has gone by and we are where we were. In fact we are in a slightly worse position because we have withdrawn from one or two places while Pakistan holds on to the large areas south of the Kishenganga, from which they had to withdraw.

This is an intolerable position and it must be cleared up both with the U.N. Commission people and Delvoie and our own army commanders. I am afraid I am going away soon, but even before I go, I want to have some report as to why this should be allowed to happen.

I am told that there are widespread rumours in Kashmir both among the civilians and our army people that we are likely to withdraw our army from Kashmir or part of it because of financial stringency. I do not know who the mischief-makers are, who spread this kind of fantastic rumours which have no basis in fact. We are not going to withdraw from Kashmir and this fact should be dinned into every person's head.

Further accounts about General Delvoie's transfer of property belonging to Effendi⁵ from Srinagar to Pindi have come to us. This is a bad show altogether and we take a very grave view of it. We are communicating with the United Nations on the subject. I do not think it is possible for Delvoie to continue here or to go to Kashmir. It appears that he actually broke the seals of the Kashmir Government in order to take out Effendi's belongings. It further appears that Effendi's agent had clearly told him and his wife that Effendi had been declared as an enemy agent by the Kashmir Government. It was inspite of this that Delvoie broke the seal, took out large quantities of goods and sent them to Pakistan in his own plane.

Apart from Delvoie, this raises important issues. U.N. Commission planes are constantly going from Kashmir to Pakistan and there has long been a complaint that they misuse their privilege as persons having diplomatic immunity. This matter will have to be looked into and possibly some steps taken.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Volume 12, p. 334.

5. On 3 October 1949, the Government of India sent a note to the U.N.C.I.P. on the question of breach of privileges by General Delvoie. Also see *ante*, p. 206.

10

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

I. Bilateral Relations

I. THE SOVIET UNION

1. The Importance of the Moscow Embassy¹

There has been criticism that an eminent educationist and philosopher like Dr Radhakrishnan should not have been taken away from his field and sent out of the country. I agree with that criticism to a certain extent. I do not like people who are doing constructive work in their own fields to come to Delhi and work in the Government, because they become just one drop in the ocean of humanity. But our choice of Dr Radhakrishnan was made with good reason and was not in a casual manner.

We consider our relations with the Soviet Union very important not only because the Soviet Union is a very great country in extent, power, prestige, capacity, and in so many other ways is playing a great part in the world today, but also because the Soviet Union is our neighbour and neighbours cannot afford to be indifferent to each other.

India's mission to Moscow is a most delicate diplomatic mission. We have many important missions in the world but from the point of view of delicacy, the importance of the Soviet mission is the greatest and it was not an easy matter to choose a person who could fulfil such an important and delicate mission.

I and my colleagues, after giving careful thought to the matter, decided to choose Dr Radhakrishnan and pressed him to accept the post. If we chose Dr Radhakrishnan, it was because of the very qualities which have made him eminent in other fields of activity. It can truly be said that he goes to Russia as the symbol of India. Because of these very special considerations, I thought I was entitled not to allow the objections raised in this regard and to take him away from the several fields of activity to which he has devoted himself with such great eminence. I am very happy he has accepted our offer and agreed to go to Russia and it is a matter of satisfaction to me that at this very difficult post we have a man of ability, who has a capacity to understand and make others understand also. I wish him success in his great venture.

1. Speech at a reception organized by the Delhi Andhra Association to felicitate Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, India's Ambassador-designate to the U.S.S.R., 24 August 1949. From *The Hindustan Times* and the *National Herald*, 25 August 1949.

ii. PAKISTAN

1. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
September 12, 1949

My dear Krishna,

I have just received your telegram No. 900 of the 11th September. This afternoon two members of the U.N. Kashmir Commission came here and saw Bajpai. They presented a letter which referred to our reply to them and said that perhaps there had been some misunderstanding in regard to points for arbitration and whether the arbitrator would be given a clear account of the circumstances leading up to the present position. They have slightly modified their previous attitude and say that the points for arbitration would be considered in consultation with the two Governments. If the two Governments did not agree in regard to these, then arbitration would fail. Further they said that there was agreement that there should be large-scale disbandment and disarmament of the 'Azad Kashmir' forces before the plebiscite. The question for arbitration was in regard to the scope, method and time of this. However, I have only just seen their letter and we shall consider it.

You refer in your telegram to the question of rivers being diverted etc.² We must separate the issue of the East-West Punjab rivers and the Kashmir-West Punjab rivers. So far as the former question is concerned, it does not relate to the Kashmir issue at all. It is a complicated matter. There was some kind of an agreement with Pakistan in May 1948, but subsequently they have tried to resile from it. The fact is that the Punjab irrigation system was really developed in what is West Punjab now and East Punjab was largely left out of the picture. Some of the head-works of the system lie in East Punjab as well as part of the canals. East Punjab wants to utilise more water in the canals that it is going to build and it is feared that this may mean less water for the West Punjab canals. Our proposal was that this question should be investigated quite apart from any legal issues involved with a view to providing water to both East and West Punjab. Further that the West Punjab Government should explore possibilities for developing their irrigation system. We had no desire to make any change suddenly which might upset the water supply to West Punjab. But it was inevitable that we should like to supply water to East Punjab which had been deprived of it so long. In the view of our

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Krishna Menon wrote to ask Nehru "when you say there is no possibility of rivers being stopped or diverted are you merely stating that we shall not do so or are referring to physical facts which deny such possibility."

engineers it was possible to supply enough water to both parts of the Punjab. Occasionally and rather rarely some difficulties might arise. These can be provided for. Anyhow, any East-West Punjab matter should be kept separate from the Kashmir issue. The question of river waters from Kashmir to Punjab has never been raised before us. There has been a lot of propaganda about it which has little foundation. I think it is physically very difficult and in the case of one principal river, the Jhelum, practically impossible to divert the river water or to use it up in Kashmir. It must inevitably flow into West Punjab. In regard to another river there might be a physical possibility of this being done, but no one has suggested it. If necessary the question can be examined. But quite apart from this we are perfectly prepared to consider this question as between ourselves or with the help of an arbitrator and guarantee can be laid down. As I have said, the Pakistan people have never mentioned this to us and really the question does not arise. If it ever arises, it can be settled with ease.

Similarly any other questions relating to trade and the supply of timber from Kashmir to Pakistan can easily be discussed and settled.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

2. No Compromise on Kashmir¹

In spite of grave internal troubles that India has been passing through, she responded to the urgent appeal of the people of Kashmir. Kashmir is essential for the security of India and under no circumstances will India compromise the position she has taken up in this regard. Several charges which India made against Pakistan before the U.N.O. are now sought to be ignored. Pakistan's perfidy and her part in the despoiling of Kashmir, which, despite Pakistan's vigorous denial, the Commission itself found to be true, are sought to be forgotten.

Pakistan has this slogan: 'First Kashmir, then Patiala and then on to Delhi.' This shall not happen. After due consideration, therefore, my Government rejected the Kashmir Commission's proposal for arbitration, which President Truman and Mr Attlee requested India to accept.

I believe in peace. The people of East Punjab, especially those in the border areas should not give way to panic or to the scare stories published in the Pakistan and any other press. My plea for peace is genuine, and that is the lesson which

1. Address at a public meeting, Ferozepur, 17 September 1949. From the *National Herald* and *The Hindustan Times*, 18 September 1949.

Gandhiji had taught us for over 30 years. How can India preach peace to the world if she has a warlike outlook? Though I am essentially a man of peace the people could rest assured that India's armed forces are always ready and will not hesitate to take up any challenge.

The security and the well-being of the people, whether inhabiting the border areas or elsewhere is the primary concern of the State. But the people on their part, must not fall a victim to rumour-mongering and stories of an impending war between India and Pakistan. Both the Dominions have so much to do within their own territories.

Pakistan appears to be afflicted with some mental disorder which makes her often talk against India and undertake things which are really suicidal. The world cannot really afford another war for that will mean complete disaster.

I am making no complaint against Pakistan but only pointing to a situation which, if allowed to develop, would lead to great difficulties and suffering. There are many issues between India and Pakistan, besides Kashmir, which await a solution. India is always for an amicable and friendly settlement, but India is not prepared to submit to a solution by intimidation or the sword. *Jai Hind*.

3. Friendship with Pakistan¹

At Ferozepur I referred to the Kashmir problem. Today I saw a press report attributing to me the statement that India needed Kashmir for India's security and, therefore, India could not compromise on the position she had taken up in this regard.

I never said so, nor am I prepared to say so. We went to Kashmir not for our security but we went there because Kashmir was being attacked and Kashmiris wanted us to save their land. We went to Kashmir with the consent of the people of Kashmir and with their consent we remained there. It is wrong to say that we went to Kashmir for our protection. If Kashmiris want to have relations with us, it is for them to say so. If they do not want us there, we will not be there.

India is prepared to make a declaration that all the differences between India and Pakistan must be settled by negotiation and not by resort to arms.

1. Address at a public meeting, Ludhiana, 18 September 1949. From *The Hindustan Times*, 19 September 1949.

Sometimes I hear rumours that there will be war with Pakistan. I read of such rumours in Pakistan newspapers. I cannot understand how the suspicion can be removed from the minds of the people of Pakistan but you should not get panicky.

You should continue your daily work peacefully. I think there will be no war with Pakistan. We will not fight unless we are forced to do so. We will fight only if Pakistan attacks us. Our policy is that we will try with determination not to bring about another big war in the world because we think that if there is a big war then the world will be destroyed.

India will not be a member of any bloc. We want to remain on friendly terms with everybody. That being so how can we have a different policy in relation to Pakistan? We fought with Pakistan only when we were asked by Kashmir to come to their help. You can rest assured that there will be no attack from our side, but if Pakistan attacks us then we will meet the attack with determination. *Jai Hind*.

14. Canal Waters Dispute with Pakistan¹

Pakistan says in its letter that if a settlement is not reached, a reference should be made by both parties agreeing to either party having the right to take the dispute for decision to the International Court of Justice.

Our reply to this, contained in paragraph 5, sub-paragraph (6), appears to me to be weak and incomplete. It gives one the impression that we are afraid of the proposal made and are trying to avoid any discussion of it. This is not a strong position. Personally I am quite clear and definite in my mind that we should be agreeable to arbitration in some suitable form. I do not understand this fear of arbitration, which some of us feel. In Mr Gokhale's² note, this fear is expressed clearly and it is argued that we should avoid arbitration at all costs. Surely this depends on the nature of the arbitration and the kind of arbitrators that might be appointed. I think there should be three and all of them foreign judges of

1. Note, 28 September 1949. File No. DW(1)-CWD/49, Ministry of Works, Mines and Power. Extracts.

2. B.K. Gokhale, Secretary, Ministry of Works, Mines and Power, in his note of 10 August 1949, wrote, "personally, however, I have an uneasy suspicion that they are laying stress on the International Court of Justice so that the Government of India may agree to refer the dispute to arbitration which is what the Government of Pakistan had originally asked for and which would be more in their interest. An arbitration. . . would be a most dangerous affair."

international repute. The position that arose in connection with the Radcliffe Award, that is of the Indian and Pakistani representatives cancelling each other and Radcliffe having the final say, should not arise, when three independent foreign judges of repute are appointed.

Personally I have no strong objection to the International Court of Justice, except that this is likely to be a long drawn out and expensive process. I do not myself see how the International Court can deal with an issue largely of fact and partly of law, unless it appoints a Commission to examine the position on the spot. The report of the Commission would go a long way to influence the Court. The Commission itself in effect would do much of the work that arbitrators would do on the spot, so far as facts were concerned.

I think we should be clear in our minds as to what we are prepared to do in this matter. Nothing is more harmful than shirking an issue, as this leaves the initiative always in the other party's hands. We cannot ultimately avoid the International Court, unless we accept some form of arbitration. At the most we can choose between the two. A dispute about water resources and their use is eminently one for arbitration or judicial decision. It is ultimately a question of proportionate use of water and at the worst the proportion fixed might be slightly unfavourable to us. It cannot go much beyond this. To refuse both the International Court of Justice and arbitration is to place oneself in an impossible position.

Quite apart from the reply that we have to send now, this question can be, and no doubt will be, raised on many occasions. For instance, I may have to deal with it in America. I cannot quibble about it, nor is it dignified for our Government to do so at any time. The proposal for a joint technical commission that we have made is a sound one and is the obvious course. Even if, unfortunately, the Commission fails to achieve a settlement, this procedure has to be gone through, before anything else is thought of. The International Court of Justice or arbitrators should themselves suggest this or something like it as a preliminary. Normally it should not be necessary at this stage for us to consider what should happen in the event of the joint technical commission not leading to a settlement. But since this question has been raised, we cannot ignore it and if we seek to ignore it, we do so to our disadvantage.

I think that we should be clear in our minds that The Hague Court or arbitration or either must be accepted, if need arises, and we should not be afraid of saying so. It is not necessary to say this in our letter under reply, but something more should be said in our paragraph 5, sub-paragraph (6) than what has been said. I suggest that this sub-paragraph should run as follow:

"As already stated in paragraph 4 above, the two Governments need not fetter their discretion in any way, until the report of the joint technical commission is available and every effort has been made to come to an amicable settlement.

Even if, unfortunately, such a settlement could not be reached, as a result of the labours of the joint technical commission, the Government of India are convinced that the dispute should be settled by peaceful methods and all such methods should be explored. The suggestion made by Pakistan that the dispute might be referred to the International Court of Justice would involve long delay and would certainly not be a speedy method of arriving at a settlement. A court sitting far away from the scene of the dispute would not be able to deal easily with the facts and may well have to appoint technical commissions to investigate these facts. In view of these difficulties, any commitments at this stage about an uncertain future, which might possibly not arise, are not desirable. But as stated above, the Government of India will always be anxious to explore all peaceful methods of settlement.

As stated in paragraph 3 above, until a fresh agreement on the subject has been negotiated, the Inter-Dominion Agreement of the 4th May 1948 stands and there can be no question of altering that Agreement, except by a fresh agreement."

I have indicated above how my mind is working on this subject. I am not anxious about a particular form of wording, which, no doubt, can be improved by H.M., Transport and H.M., W.M.P. . .

iii. NEPAL

1. To Mohan Shamsheer Jung Bahadur Rana¹

New Delhi

August 19, 1949

My dear Maharaja Sahib,²

I am grateful to you for your letter of July 31st which your Ambassador³ handed to me personally. I have read this letter very carefully and greatly appreciate the care you have taken to write to me at such length and in such detail.

Even during the long period of British rule in India, most of us in this country looked with a certain pride and satisfaction at the independence of Nepal. In the collapse of so many of the States and principalities of Asia before European Powers, it was gratifying to note that Nepal was one of the few States that had escaped this fate. You will appreciate that we have been and are greatly interested in the independence of Nepal. What I wrote to you in my last letter was written personally to Your Highness because of my very great interest in the freedom of Nepal. Some people talk foolishly of India having some kind of designs on Nepal. That, I can assure you, is completely without foundation, and we have no wish to come in the way of Nepal's freedom and independence.

But we are inevitably interested in Nepal and her people because of the close bonds of culture that unite us, because of geography, and because of the inevitability of important events in India or Nepal affecting the other country. Also of important developments in foreign countries affecting either of our countries. Geography necessarily brings certain associations and consequences. We cannot ignore these factors, but, as I have said above, it is our earnest desire that Nepal should continue as a free and independent State, and that she should range herself with other progressive countries.

I recognize the validity of what Your Highness has written about the past. But there is a danger in thinking of the present in terms of the past. This present is a continually changing one and we see the political and economic structure of the world in a process of constant transition. Two great Powers—the United States and the Soviet Union—are playing a more important role in the world than any other country. We, for our part, have tried deliberately not to line up with any power bloc in the world and to try to keep on friendly terms with all other countries. This is not merely a negative policy or a middle of the road policy. We conceive

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Prime Minister of Nepal at this time.

3. Shingha Shamsheer Jung Bahadur Rana.

of it as a positive policy aiming at prevention of war in the world and a progressive elimination of the causes of war and internal conflict. We recognize our limitations and that our influence at the present moment cannot go very far in affecting world policies. Nevertheless, we are convinced that if we follow the right policy, this will bear fruit.

As a part of this policy, we feel that we should interfere as little as possible with foreign countries and, at the same time, we should not tolerate interference of any foreign country in our political and economic affairs. In pursuance of this policy we wish to put an end to the footholds of some foreign Powers in India, such as the French and the Portuguese, and we do not want any vested interests of foreign countries to grow up in India even in the economic field.

Your Highness has said in your letter that it is a remarkable fact that the countries which the Communists are trying to penetrate are mostly States which are governed by democratic assemblies. I rather doubt if this is a correct appreciation of present-day events. The Communists have succeeded in countries where the masses of the people were poor and, more especially, where the agrarian system was feudal and backward. In Asia it is this backward agrarian system which has been the chief cause of trouble and which has encouraged communism. The Chinese National Government has collapsed because of its inability to deal with the agrarian problem. There was no democracy in China. It was a purely authoritarian State. Wherever there was an element of democracy, communism was checked. In England at present the Communist Party is very weak and unpopular, because England is a democratic and progressive country. I am quite sure that our best method of dealing with communism in India is through the democratic process and large-scale agrarian reforms.

I am happy to learn that Your Highness has decided to give effect, as rapidly as possible, to the promised reforms in Nepal. I am sure that this step will strengthen Nepal and help in bringing her in line with the spirit of the times.

There is one matter to which I would like to draw Your Highness's attention because reference is often made to it in our newspapers here. This is the condition of prisoners and more especially political prisoners in the Nepal prisons.⁴ A great deal of world opinion has grown up on this subject and certain international conventions and rules have been laid down. From the information that has reached me, the conditions prevailing in these prisons in Nepal are very far indeed from usually accepted conventions and rules. In particular, the treatment of political prisoners attracts attention. I earnestly trust that Your Highness will direct your attention to this matter.

4. A number of political activists were arrested in December 1948 following a movement for restoration of democracy and implementation of the Constitution. The movement was led by Nepal Praja Panchayat and later joined by Nepali National Congress. B.P. Koirala undertook a three-week fast in jail from 1 May 1949 against ill-treatment of prisoners and their release.

I am happy to learn that Your Highness intends visiting India. We shall look forward to this visit, and I am sure it will lead to strengthening of the bonds between India and Nepal.

May I thank Your Highness for the very friendly message of greetings you sent on the occasion of the celebration of our Independence Day?

I hope Your Highness will accept the expression of my highest consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To C.P.N. Singh¹

New Delhi
August 19, 1949

My dear Chandreshwar Prasad,²

When you were here, I think you saw the letter which the Prime Minister of Nepal has sent me. I am now enclosing my reply to him which I should like you to deliver to him personally. A copy of my reply is enclosed separately.

I think you should continue to impress upon the Maharaja the necessity for quick action in the matter of reforms. You need not for the moment press for any improvement in these reforms, though of course if you are consulted you may make some such suggestions. The main thing is speed in implementation.

I should also like you to suggest to the Maharaja the desirability of releasing the political prisoners. I have been greatly shocked to learn about them and about the conditions they live in. This is the height of barbarity and I think the Maharaja ought to be made to feel this. Also the fact that some labour people, who were arrested four years ago, are still in prison without charge or sentence. I wish you would lay continuous stress on these matters because they affect the prestige of Nepal greatly.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. India's Ambassador in Nepal.

3. Political Reforms in Nepal¹

I am greatly dissatisfied with the dilatory attitude of the Maharaja in regard to reforms etc.² I think our Ambassador should hint to him that we are very dissatisfied; also that it is likely that various forces that we have succeeded in checking thus far will not be amenable to our advice much longer...

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 10 September 1949. File No. 18(51)-NEF/49, M.E.A., N.A.I. Extracts.
2. The Maharaja in an interview with the Indian Ambassador on 22 August 1949 said that "the Constitution, as a whole, including the Legislature, was expected to start functioning within a year" and added that even the rules and regulations regarding the election of village and district panchayats would take another three to four months.

4. To C.P.N. Singh¹

New Delhi

September 10, 1949

My dear Chandreshwar Prasad,

Thank you for your two letters, the latter being of September 4th.

I am afraid your conversations with the Maharaja go round and round without producing any results. I am beginning to think that no results are going to come from that source. When you see him, you can tell him of my disappointment over all this and my great regret that the Government of Nepal is allowing valuable time to slip by. This time will not come back and the situation will get more and more difficult. I had offered my advice to him in all sincerity as a friend of Nepal and as one intimately concerned with India, also as one who has knowledge of world developments. If he is not prepared to accept my advice, I can do nothing further in the matter. Obviously if conditions in Nepal do not change materially, there will be agitation in India. We have tried to restrain these people and have succeeded to a large extent. But we cannot possibly succeed any more, if nothing happens in Nepal.

Our policy of course is not to permit any agitation that aims at violence. But peaceful agitation we are bound to permit according to our Constitution and policy.

1. J.N. Collection.

Owing to the developments in China and very probably a little later in Tibet, Nepal will have to face a very serious problem on her border before very long. Those problems will not be of a military character so much as an invasion of ideas and dangerous ideas at that. This invasion can only be met by internal changes brought about in time.

The draft treaty that you have sent will be considered in our office. I might inform you, however, that certain clauses in it about our not permitting any agitation or activity aimed at reform or change in the other country can hardly be accepted by us.

I am interested to learn about the Maharaja's enquiry as to the distinction between independence and autonomy. There is all the difference in the world. Even our provinces and states are referred to as autonomous, that is they have a large measure of autonomy. Some places like Bhutan have even more autonomy. But in the international sense Bhutan is subordinate to India, because she can have no foreign relations and cannot declare war or peace. As a matter of fact Bhutan remains autonomous only because we choose to allow it to remain so. Even financially it is dependent upon us and it can carry on only because of the subsidy we give.

The Maharaja is very much mistaken, if he thinks that I ought not to see Koirala² or anyone else, because he does not approve of him. I consider myself completely free to meet or deal with anyone I choose.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. B.P. Koirala.

5. To Mohan Shamsheer Jung Bahadur Rana¹

New Delhi
October 5, 1949

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

Your Ambassador in Delhi handed to me today your letter of September 30th. I am grateful to you for it. I am hastening to reply to it as I am leaving for America early tomorrow morning.

1. J.N. Collection.

In your letter you refer to the interview which Dr B.V. Keskar, our Deputy Foreign Minister, gave to D.R. Regmi.² I think you have misunderstood the significance of our Ministers and senior officials giving interviews to people. As a democratic Government we meet, subject to time and opportunity, almost everybody who seeks an interview whether we agree with him or disagree with him. Indeed, there is a tendency to find time to meet those with whom one disagrees. Meeting a person does not mean any kind of agreement with his views. You are no doubt aware that our Government in India is bitterly criticised by many groups and individuals. Yet we meet these individuals and representatives of groups who are completely hostile to us. We meet them sometimes socially, sometimes politically. That is the custom in democratic countries.

In accordance with this practice when Shri B.P. Koirala sought an interview with me some weeks ago, I gave it to him. As a matter of fact it is because of these interviews that we have been able to check the tendency to intemperate speech and action on the part of others.

Your Highness has mentioned an article in the *National Herald* of Lucknow. I had not myself seen this article previously. Again I would point out to you that the newspaper press in India is completely free to express its opinion subject only to the laws of defamation and to the preaching of violence. Our own Government is aggressively and bitterly criticised in the newspapers. Our Ministers are also criticised. We have made it perfectly clear that we will not interfere unless the criticism leads to or is intended to lead to violence.

India, as Your Highness has rightly noticed, is at the present moment full of mental exuberance. There is a great deal of vitality in the country which sometimes goes in a right direction and sometimes in a wrong one. There are various ways of dealing with such activities. We prefer not to suppress people's opinions or activities by governmental action, unless they lead to violence.

I have written this letter in some haste as I am going away soon and I hope Your Highness will forgive me for this brief reply to your letter.

Please accept the expression of my high consideration and with kind regards,

I am,

Your Highness's sincere friend,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. (b.1916); founder-member of All India Students' Federation, Patna, 1937-40; imprisoned several times in India, 1941-45; taught at Kashi Vidyapeeth, Varanasi, 1946-47; founded Nepal Rashtriya Congress Party, 1947 and was its President till 1960; Minister of Education and Foreign Affairs, Government of Nepal, 1954, and of Home Affairs, 1958-59; author of several books including *Modern Nepal* (1961), *Medieval Nepal* (4 Vols., 1965-66), and *Anglo-Nepalese War and After* (1975).

iv. CHINA

1. To John Matthai¹

New Delhi
September 10, 1949

My dear Matthai,

Recent developments in China and Tibet indicate that Chinese Communists are likely to invade Tibet sometime or other. This will not be very soon. But it may well take place within a year. The Government structure of Tibet is feeble. A Lama hierarchy controls the whole country, the majority of whose population is very poor. Any effective attempt by the Chinese Communists can hardly be resisted, more especially as the greater part of the population is likely to remain passive and some may even help the Communists. On the other side at Sinkiang, Soviet influence is already strong.

The result of all this is that we may have the Chinese or Tibetan Communists right up on our Assam, Bhutan and Sikkim border. That fact by itself does not frighten me. But all along this border are tribal areas. In the past British officers carried on a policy of encouraging separatist tendencies in these areas. They have to be tackled very carefully. It seems to me essential from every point of view that these areas should have good communications, that is, roads. This means a certain road development programme for these areas. There was, I believe, some such programme in the Assam scheme. But much of it has been cut down for reasons of economy. I think that it is a risky business not to develop these communications at this stage or in the near future. Later we might have to spend much more. At present we can proceed relatively slowly, as we have some time. I am putting this to you, so that you might consider how far we can go in this direction in the near future.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

v. INDONESIA

1. Role of the U.N. Commission¹

Newspaper reports state that it is proposed that U.N. Commission's role during Round Table Conference² will probably be restricted to giving advice or guidance. We feel that such restriction of Commission's role will be unfortunate and will create difficulties for Indonesians. It would be better for them to continue taking intimate part in these talks as in the past. Please convey this message informally to Dr Hatta.³

1. Telegram to M.S. Mehta, Ambassador to the Netherlands, 17 August 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. It was held from 23 August to 2 November 1949.
3. Mohammad Hatta.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS
II. Portuguese Settlements

1. Portuguese Possessions in India¹

I have read this report.² Inevitably, in existing circumstances, we have to go slow. We have to wait for the French settlements in India to revert to India. The Padroado question has been more or less settled.³ Economic and other inquiries should continue so also the question of the bank.⁴

There is no difficulty about our giving assurances about religious and linguistic freedom—also to treat Goa as a distinct entity.

One point has to be borne in mind—the effect of the Atlantic Pact on these possessions. Informally and gradually this question might be raised with the U.K. and U.S.A. We should make our position clear.

1. Note to the Secretary-General and Foreign Secretary, 25 August 1949. File No. 19(112)-Eur I/49, M.E.A., N.A.I.
2. B.P. Adarkar, appointed by the Ministry of External Affairs to look into the various problems connected with the Portuguese possessions in India, submitted his report on 17 May 1949. The report stated that there was a complete disinclination on the part of the Portuguese to find an amicable settlement in India. It was feared that U.K. and U.S.A. might, as members of the Atlantic Pact, utilize Goa for military manoeuvres. Propaganda and espionage might be carried out by the Portuguese Government in India, which could affect the religious and social sentiments of the people, and financial and economic pressures on Goa were also suggested.
3. According to a concordat between the Vatican and Portugal, the latter could nominate Bishops to be appointed in India, and the entire Roman Catholic clergy in India came under the administrative control of the Patriarch in Goa. Asserting that the concordat could be binding on India, the Government opened negotiations with the Vatican and Portugal to put an end to the system.
4. The Banco Nacional Ultramarino was the only bank in Goa with the sole right of printing of notes. With a view to provide better banking facilities, the United Commercial Bank of India proposed to open a branch in Goa but its application was not favoured by the Portuguese authorities.

2. Portuguese Activities in Bombay¹

The attention of the Government of Bombay should be drawn to the matters concerning them in Dr Keskar's note.² More especially the activities of the Portuguese Consul in Bombay should be watched. If he indulges in any anti-India activities, we should be informed immediately.

2. In a previous note³ I have already indicated that our attitude towards the Portuguese Government in Goa should be correct but stiff. On no account should discourtesy to our Consul be tolerated.⁴

3. The question of a bank in Goa should be expedited.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 1 October 1949. File No.19(138)-Eur I/49, M.E.A., N.A.I.
2. B.V. Keskar in his note of 29 September stated that the majority of the one lakh Goans concentrated in Bombay were Christians and the Catholic Church had total sway over them. The Goan clubs, the main centre for social interaction of the community, were also centres for anti-Indian propaganda. The Portuguese Consul in Bombay was also indulging in anti-Indian activities.
3. See the preceding item.
4. India's Minister designate to Portugal, P. Achutha Menon, proposed to visit Goa before taking up his assignment in Lisbon, and had received an invitation from the Governor-General of Goa to be his guest. G.S. Bajpai recorded that the Governor-General "does not treat well our Consul General" and so acceptance of the invitation "will be a slap on the face of our Consul General." The Consul General in Goa, wrote that "any such gesture would only act as a powerful danger to the nationalist movement which had begun to gain momentum."

10

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

III. General

1. Cable to B.N. Rau¹

Your telegram No. 383 of 23rd September. Following are our comments:

... B. Para 1 of your telegram: As regards China, we intend to be guided by realities of developing situation. Days of Nationalist Government are numbered and formation of Communist Government considered imminent. We have repeatedly told U.K. and U.S.A. Representatives in Delhi that delay in recognition of new Government or making recognition dependent upon fulfilment of conditions which new regime could legitimately represent as hard or humiliating would only strengthen those who wish Chinese foreign policy to follow Moscow's. For us, early recognition would be simple, since we need no special safeguards to protect special political or economic interests. Recognition, however, must take a little time, if only because of the need for consultation with Panikkar, who has been instructed to return to India in near future, and to avoid too abrupt a break with present Nationalist Government of China. Acting Canadian High Commissioner² has also been kept informed of our general policy. We cannot, at this stage, commit ourselves to recognition by particular date. If developments in New York necessitate an immediate decision, please telegraph for instructions.

C. Para 3 of telegram: We are glad your statesman-like speech has made favourable impression, and would like you to keep us informed of developments relating to our candidature for election to Security Council. As regards Pakistan propaganda, we must leave you a great deal of discretion. Virulence and open hostility of that propaganda requires, in our opinion, equal vigour of prudent but persistent and effective reply.

1. New Delhi, 25 September 1949. J.N. Collection. Extracts.
Rau was Head of the Indian Delegation to the U.N.
2. Warwick F. Chipman.

2. India and the World¹

The world should worry more about the psychology of blind fear than Russia's acquisition of the atom bomb. Russia's discovery of the atom bomb has forced people to think more vividly and to realize the possibilities in store. In that sense it may help towards the prevention of war. I was not much impressed by the news from Russia because, although it was important, it was also inevitable.

The more terrible the dangers of war the more people should see the folly of it and avoid it. But people do not always behave logically of course. The only thing I am afraid of is the psychology of blind fear which is gripping people all over the world.

I will leave Delhi next Thursday for the U.S.A. on a goodwill mission. I am looking forward to an opportunity of discussing many problems in Washington. I am not in a position yet to discuss the political implications of the trip, which also includes India's attitude towards proposals for the creation of an Asiatic bloc to prevent the spread of communism in Asia. It, indeed, is an intricate subject.

A Pacific Pact to parallel the Atlantic Pact is premature. That India is going to maintain an independent foreign policy is clear. India does not fear communist aggression from outside at present. As for India's recognition of the new Chinese communist regime at Peking, no final decision has been taken and the matter is still under consideration.

No country can live an isolated existence, and certainly India has no desire to do so. The U.S.A. is playing a dominating and most important part in world affairs, and it is inevitable that Indo-American relations should be closer.

1. Remarks at a meeting with the staff members of the United Press Association, New Delhi, 1 October 1949. From *The Hindustan Times*, 3 October 1949.

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EDUCATION AND CULTURE

1. The Meaning of Culture¹

Some members of the Allahabad Young Socialist League have distributed pamphlets urging the Central Government to reimpose the ban on R.S.S., which it says is a communal and an anti-national organization. My views about R.S.S. are well known.

All talk about Hindu culture and Hindu nation is fantastic. I am not alarmed at anything in the world today, except at this narrow-mindedness of the human mind in India. This is a most terrible thing. We must eschew the spirit of narrow-mindedness, isolationism and exclusiveness, if we have to survive as a free nation.

No doubt India has a vast majority of Hindus, but we cannot forget the fact that there are also minorities—the Muslims, the Christians, the Parsis and the Jains. If India is understood as a 'Hindu Rashtra', it would mean that the minorities are not cent per cent citizens of the country.

We have declared India as a secular democratic State and to that extent we have to maintain its non-religious character. Every citizen in India should enjoy full liberty as in other free countries.

The argument about the language question, in this context, is relevant. Obviously, it is not fair to impose your linguistic will on other provinces. The question of language is most vital for the South. It is a tremendous thing when we say that we accept Hindi. You cannot impose culture on others. India is a strange unity in diversity. We must maintain that unity and make it strong, or else we shall decay.

Our culture must be deep-rooted in the soil of India. Any culture, which is hedged in by barriers, is bound to decay. Culture is something common between the people of a country. True culture is receptive, if not, it becomes stagnant. We have to adjust our outlook and ideas in the context of our changing environments.

For more than one hundred and fifty years we have been under British domination, and our culture has been affected by their culture. We rebelled against the British authority, and it is natural after we have attained our independence, to show a tendency to have changes in language and in other matters. But we have to assess how far the talk of Hindu culture is in conformity with our ideals and aspirations.

The fact is that the Indian mind has been losing its vitality due to the creation of social barriers. The consequences are inevitable. When a nation becomes isolationist and non-creative, it inevitably decays.

1. Address to the students of the Muir College, Allahabad, 3 September 1949. From the *National Herald*, 4 September 1949.

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1. Address to the students of the Muir College, Allahabad, 3 September 1949. From the *National Herald*, 4 September 1949.

The Socialists have been accusing us of stifling the civil liberties of the people. I want to make it clear, that it is not the policy of the Government of India to suppress any party or organization, howsoever strong or unpleasant their criticisms of the present Government may be. Our policy is to give full freedom to any party or organization to raise its voice against our Government and criticize our policy, if they disagree with us. We want to give them full chance to express their feelings. We may gain from their suggestions. On the other hand, the granting of civil liberties is not a licence for creating disturbances in the country. If their actions involve violent methods and constitute a danger to the safety of the country, the Government cannot tolerate such a situation.

The need of the hour is to produce more wealth in the country, without which no progress can be made. Money changing hands is not wealth. In order to increase the country's wealth we must augment all-round production of food and production in our industries. Our food problem is linked with our fundamental national problems and no nation, which is not self-sufficient in food, can truly enjoy the fruits of freedom. Our economic questions are also, to a large extent, inter-related with our national life. The real wealth of a country is what it produces from year to year. We must have plenty of wealth for equitable distribution among the people. In this connection I would like to remind you that America is wealthy because it produces immense wealth every day in factories and on land. Whether we believe in socialism or communism, we have to work hard to create wealth.

Students should not run after jobs. Skilled labourers have more earning capacity than job hunters. I was told that for petty jobs in Calcutta in Government service, fifty thousand graduates had applied. Is that the end of education?

Employment is not the end of education. Education without character-building means nothing. A nation can take strides only if it has first-class men and women of character, creative genius and artistic abilities. If our education cannot help in building our character, then it is no good.

I want to remind you that the students of this country have to face mighty problems which await solution. We have to work hard to achieve our objective. India has to work harder than other countries because she is much behind them. The aftermath of our political agitation has been that we have become slow and we expect others to do the work for us. We began with an expectation of Government doing everything for us. Remember, a nation progresses only when each individual does his job efficiently and sincerely.

Take the example of the Japanese people. Four years ago an atom bomb had completely destroyed Hiroshima. The Japanese, hard working as they are, have rebuilt the city in four years, which was the result of strenuous labour by individuals, and definitely not achieved by passing resolutions.

Our present generation is condemned to hard labour. We must emulate the example of other nations which have the courage, the discipline and the capacity to build, and work hard.

2. The Nature of True Education¹

Students should keep the student movement aloof from politics. As individuals, the students can join any political party they like but they should not allow their movement as such to be exploited by any political party or parties. If you do that, your movement will cease to be a students' movement and will become a branch of the party or parties concerned, which will neither benefit the cause of the students nor that of the party or parties. I am happy, however, about your plan to form a national students' union, which while providing a common platform to all shades of students' opinion, should work for the promotion of students' welfare.

There is a vast sphere of work other than political for such an organization. For instance, such a union can endeavour to fill the gaps left in the proper training of students because of the defective system of education. Moreover, it can do quite a lot to inculcate discipline in the student community.

There is a need for proper training of the youth of the country, and discipline, vitality and hard work alone can make the young men and women fit for undertaking great responsibilities they have to shoulder sooner or later.

Education is not complete after receiving a couple of degrees. As a matter of fact the real training begins only when a person enters life and faces its realities. University education only lays the necessary foundation for the future development of an individual.

There is a craze for government employment which is rampant among young men trained in universities. In Calcutta, more than fifty thousand graduates and even post-graduates had applied for three hundred and ten vacancies for petty jobs. These people could have done many other jobs, more productive and constructive, if they had decided to give up the idea of government employment.

University education should produce people with inquisitive minds and an adventurous outlook. I do not hesitate to state that present-day students lack mental adventure. They confine themselves to their lecture notes or a few books recommended by their professors. This cannot help them in becoming responsible citizens of an independent country. They must have a craze for knowledge and should always be in search for something new. Only then can they be students in the true sense of the word. The aim of university education should not be subordinated to the glamorous objective of over-specialization in a particular field

1. Address at the Sixth Annual Conference of the Delhi Provincial Students' Congress, New Delhi, 11 September 1949. From the *National Herald* and *The Indian News Chronicle*, 12 September 1949.

which invariably leads to lop-sided development in other spheres of life. Mastery of one's own profession should not mean ignorance about other important problems of the world.

We live in an age of scientific development and science has made notable inventions but people of the world lack the wisdom to utilize science in the best interests of the humanity at large. Students can do a great deal in infusing this wisdom among the people.

On the one hand I find vitality among the people, but, on the other hand there is a peculiar slackness and lack of wisdom. Vitality, I must emphasize, is essential for the development of a nation, and its existence can help in rectifying mistakes if and when committed by the people. People must have some wisdom, discipline and character to make use of their vitality, but they lack in vitality, and if the young men of the country are to become the leaders of tomorrow, they have to undertake the onerous responsibilities of building up their nation and the State.

The progress of people does not depend entirely on the physical resources of the land. The character and training which the people possess go a long way in influencing this progress.

Students have great responsibilities to shoulder. Before the independence of the country they had only one function, and that was to agitate against the foreign rule. But that chapter has ended. They too have now to build their character and increase their knowledge to serve the country with an adventurous zeal.

We are passing through a rapidly changing phase of history wherein many revolutions are taking shape. It is not necessary that revolution should be accompanied by violence. Science has already revolutionized our day-to-day life. We ourselves have to bring about peaceful revolution in many walks of life, and it is therefore essential that you should rise to the occasion and prove yourselves to be worthy of the situation. Show to the world that you are first-rate persons and not second-rate ones.

3. Unity and Harmony¹

I came here today and am very happy to be able to participate in the first convocation of this university. I am also very happy to see the arrangements which are simple

1. Convocation address at the Jammu and Kashmir University, Srinagar, 24 September 1949. From A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L. and the *National Herald*, 26 September 1949.

and inexpensive. Generally, people think that by erecting huge buildings of brick and mortar, they have put up schools and colleges. The essence of a school does not lie in a building but in the relationship that exists between the teachers and students. That is the true meaning of a school or a college. If that relationship is well established, then even a field or a house becomes a school or a college. If that relationship is not there, then even if you have the biggest building, it does become a school or a college, but it merely remains a big building with a few people in it. I do not know how far the old tradition of *Guru-Shishya Parampara*² is carried on here. But we have to pay more attention to that relationship and to those whom we have to teach rather than spend whatever money we have on buildings, etc.

What are the tasks before us? There are innumerable tasks in India and Kashmir. We have to build a new nation, a new India and a new Kashmir. We feel a sense of frustration that things are not moving faster. However, it is because of our lethargy, weakness and inexperience, and also because of the fact that big tasks take a long time to be completed. But, then, what are our tasks? There are innumerable tasks but ultimately the real, fundamental and basic task is to produce good human beings. Ultimately whether it is the construction of a building or any other work done in the world it is done only by human beings. Men and women do it. But any task can be performed only by trained men and women because nothing can be done properly without training. You may have the enthusiasm and energy to work, and it is good to have it, but it is not enough to accomplish a task. Here in Kashmir there are a number of crafts. A craftsman undergoes a long training before he becomes good at his job; he cannot learn it by mere enthusiasm. Take any task, big or small, you need trained men. If you want to construct a bridge on a river you will have to find an engineer. You cannot construct a bridge by shouting slogans on the bank of the river. So everything is done by human beings, trained human beings. Schools and colleges are the training centres which teach human beings—children and youth—the way to work and to train their minds. But they should train their hands and feet also. If a human being is well-trained in mind and body, he can then perform his duty well.

Now, you are going to be graduates. But if you think that your education is completed and that you have learnt everything, or that there is nothing left for you to learn, you are mistaken. You are only on the threshold of learning and education. You have not yet entered its portals. Whatever you may have learnt so far, to get your B.A. or M.A. degrees is merely a training for you to read and learn hereafter. If you think that your education is complete, you can take it that you have become worthless because you will stop growing in mind and body any further. But, if you have learnt the art of educating and training yourself further by your own efforts, then your time in the school and college has been well spent.

2. Teacher-pupil relationship.

I learnt very little in school and college but the thing I learnt was the method to learn in future. Perhaps you will not have the good fortune to have the opportunities that I had of reading at great leisure in prison for eight to ten years. Such opportunities are not given to everyone. But I took full advantage of those opportunities and read, wrote and thought and so prepared myself for my future work. If I had stagnated at the same level at which I was when I left the college, I would not have accomplished very much.

Therefore, our first and foremost task is to train people. It is the people who produce other things and the moment we forget this and feel that it is more important to build other things and forget this factor we put a stop to the country's progress. We may construct huge buildings and palaces for show but if people remain poor and backward in a country, then that country cannot make much progress. In modern times, which is also called the age of democracy, it is impossible to carry on in the old ways.

So, in spite of all those communal riots and fighting, etc., our main concern has been education, which shows that even today the Government and all of us are looking in the right direction. I am very happy to see this because, after all, it is only by this way that we will lay the foundations.

Now, if you read the history of Kashmir or of the whole of India, you will see that there have been many good and bad things in it. But you will observe a very special feature which has been here throughout its history, and that is an effort at synthesis of all the good points of various religions and ideologies so as to make it our own. The history of Kashmir is about five to seven thousand years old, during which there have been many ups and downs, and yet one thing which strikes me most in it is its tremendous strength, its internal strength, that is the mental and physical strength and its confidence in its ability to accomplish things. All this is very evident. There is a quality of eternal youth about India. Its strength may have diminished at times but the basic strength has always been there. Even when it became a slave country and lost its political independence, a part of that strength remained intact. That is why the nation survived and rose again when the opportunity came.

For thousands of years various kinds of people and their philosophies and ideas have found their way into India and after making some impact got merged into the sea of Indian humanity like rivers flowing into the sea. So it is a great quality and strength of India, that is, its capacity to welcome and absorb anything new and to learn from it and also to influence it. This is the innate strength of India as well as of Kashmir. I think it is a basic thing which is inherent in some measure in every country. Maybe India has a little more of this.

All of us must remember this specially because a great deal of poison has been spread all over the country—the poison of bitterness and feud. This has created barriers, the result of which all of us saw. How dangerous and terrible it has been. India was divided into two divisions, which caused great grief. But why did terrible events occur after that? In fact, it was merely a result of the spreading of poison

for years and the efforts to create divisions. All this had less effect on Kashmir in spite of all the fighting and riots because you have experienced leaders, especially *Sher-e-Kashmir*, who always laid stress on unity and did not like any division in society.

You will find this both in the history of India and Kashmir. This inner strength of India has sustained and carried us forward in a certain direction for the last so many thousands of years. And that is the direction in which we will ultimately be led, though sometimes the current may flow in the opposite direction and wrong things also may be done. But this inner strength of India, which has been there for thousands of years, its culture and civilization, and its capability for synthesis will ultimately win. I have no doubt about this because these things do not remain dormant even if they are somewhat shaken up.

For the last two years, as you know, Kashmir has been under the merciless attack of the enemy and this has brought ruin and innumerable problems in its wake. We have faced this together and our forces have fought bravely. The manner in which the citizens of Srinagar conducted themselves in the face of danger is also praiseworthy. The Indian Army had to fight a strange war in the mountainous terrain covered with snow. This war will always be mentioned in the military history of the world. All these things have happened but I want to draw the attention, specially of the university students, to the tension and bitterness which filled the people's minds as a result of the Partition, and to the poison that has been spreading since then, which led people to commit such terrible atrocities in the heat of the moment and which is still creating an atmosphere of enmity and war. Kashmir is no longer merely a battlefield but it has become a subject of ideological and communal tension during the last two years. As far as I can see, the forces of goodwill and unity are winning. The good points in the old history of Kashmir and India are gradually coming back. There is no doubt that you fortunately have leaders here who have shown you the right path at a time when many people are misled. It is difficult also to blame the people for their action in such circumstances. What are people to do in such a situation? Bewildered, they are unable to understand what they should do and what they should not do. At such times it becomes specially important that the right path be shown, and it is your good fortune that you have amongst you the persons capable of doing that. So you were not led astray.

You will now leave the university to take up various professions and jobs. You will be serving Kashmir, and India, with your minds and bodies, in various capacities and professions. But the greatest service that you can do is to weed out the poison of bitterness from the minds of the people, whether they are in Kashmir, India or Pakistan—which was the root cause of the Partition. You must try to spread the ideas of unity and harmony and show the people of Kashmir and India and the world what will benefit them because these ideas are universal, which is a proof of their being right. If an opposite ideology spreads, it will bring ruin not only to Kashmir, but to the whole world. Communalism is a wrong ideology; people may say anything because of passion.

4. The Necessity of Excellence¹

You and I have been participating in a significant ceremony. It would have been significant in any case and at any time but perhaps in this historic city² it has assumed even a greater significance.

As I was coming here and looked at this lovely valley, old tales of Indian history came to my mind and then I began to think and tried to peep into the future, and wondered how this place would change in two, three, four or five years' time from now and how this Academy will grow up, how young men from all over the country would come here to get some kind of training for the defence service and what India would be like. It struck me as a very odd thing that we, who for a generation talked about and attempted in our own feeble way to practise the way of non-violence, should now be in a sense glorifying the Army, Navy and Air Force. It seems odd and I suppose many people in India and outside sometimes put this question to themselves. And yet we have had to do it. It simply reflects the oddness of life, for life is not very logical and in it we have to face all kinds of contingencies and unless we are prepared to face them, we remain where we are. There has been no greater apostle of nonviolence than Mahatma Gandhi. Yet he told us it is better to take to the sword than to be cowardly, and not to run away or surrender. So there are some things which even he, the apostle of nonviolence, thought might necessitate our using methods other than those he himself taught us. That really was in a sense a confession of weakness and defeat for us. If we were strong enough to follow the path laid down by him, I have no doubt that we would win by that path alone. We cannot go much further and therefore we have to pay attention to this and we cannot take risks which might endanger our hard-won freedom and so we have to be strong in the modern ways of defence. The Army, Air Force and Navy it seems obvious to me must be of the very first quality. In any case I do not like to have in India anything that is second-rate in whatever field of activity it might be.

We want to make this country an absolutely first-rate nation in every kind of activity. It is not an easy thing to do but nevertheless we must aim at the highest, certainly even more so in the Army, Navy and Air Force. We must aim at the highest standard of efficiency and technical knowledge. Enthusiasm and courage are essential for a living nation but so are training, knowledge and technical competence in today's world. And if we are therefore to have an Army, an Air

1. Speech on the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of the National Defence Academy at Khadakvasla, 6 October 1949. From *The Hindustan Times* and the *National Herald*, 7 October 1949.
2. Pune.

Force, we must have the wherewithal to produce the weapons that we wish to use. We cannot depend on other countries because that means lack of independence and dependence upon others, that means ultimately the building up of tool-making and machine industries so that we may produce almost everything that we need. Because of the compulsions of defence and the other circumstances and in spite of our great desire to have peace in India and in the world, we are forced to pay every attention to build up our Defence Forces to the highest level of efficiency and indeed in the past two years or so it has not been merely a theoretical question of building it up but also using it in actual theatres of war.

Now, it is said, and perhaps it is rightly said, that soldiers, airmen and sailors are apt to be conceited. They show a tendency to be conceited. I do not wish to encourage that tendency. Nevertheless, I would like to say that among the many things that we, both the Central and the provincial Governments have done and also a lot of things that we have not done in these two years, if a list of our acts of omission or commission is made, I think it can be said that we have done one job rather well and that is building up our Defence Services. It was not an easy job and I personally take no credit for it. I give the credit where it is due. Immediately after the change-over we had to face great difficulties and crises but nevertheless we faced them with confidence and with the confidence of the officers and men. We can say today with even greater confidence that our Defence Services are not only technically efficient, but well-trained and I should like to compliment our Armed Forces; but in doing so I wish to remind you again not to get conceited and to remember always what the functions of the Defence Services are.

Certainly their primary function is to protect the country, the nation, the people from aggression, from trouble, external or internal. That is so. But their functions are many more than that and in the modern world the function of any army becomes wider and wider. In the old days the functions of the Government, as has been said, were more or less the functions of a Police State. They kept peace with the help of the Army and the police and collected taxes. According to the old conceptions of Government's functions and duties, these were the main functions in every country. Gradually the new conception grew, the conception of social activity of the Government in a State, that is, its responsibility to increase and promote the welfare of the people and if we did not do so, the Government failed.

In the same way, the conception of the Defence Forces has been a changing one. It was to protect the nation from aggression or internal trouble. Today the conception of the Army, Navy and Air Force is to take full part in the social development and in the social services of the nation apart from its other duties. That is necessary because the Army, Navy, and Air Force are now part of the nation. They are as much interested in the development of the nation as any one else. They have had special training and it is only waste of this training if it is not used fully in every activity to promote the well-being of the nation. So if the Army took this in hand as a matter of their regular work, it adds something to the name of the

Academy. And when the Academy's trained men go back a part of their training could be used in developing the villages. I think the results achieved would be remarkable. I therefore suggest this to our Chiefs of the Defence Services not only to consider this idea and to put it in the minds of their officers and men, but to some extent give a shape to it.

And as I just mentioned in the course of my speech in Hindustani, I was pleased to learn yesterday of what some of our regiments—both officers and men—who have come back after hard period of service in Kashmir, had done to help in the food production programme there. I hear they are actually taking charge of a large area of 2,000 acres now and they intend ploughing altogether some 20,000 acres, with two or three tractors, and not having anything else to help them in this work. But being men of ingenuity and training they are using their mules for ploughing, with some kind of special arrangement not done in the ordinary way, but anyhow they are using them. And that is what I like, and that is what India needs today. I regret to say that people in our country are waiting for something to happen. They wait expecting government to do something. One government department waits for the other government departments to do something. The waiting that is done in this country astounds me.

Nobody thinks of doing something himself as they always expect somebody else to do. The chief object of training for the soldier, sailor or airman is not to wait because if he waits he may be waiting there for ever. He has to decide immediately. The officers and even the men should have to some extent the quality of leadership to make the best of any situation and it is that type of training I should like not only the Army and Air Force to have but all our schools and colleges to give. Well, anyhow the Defence Services should have it. I hope that every soldier, sailor and airman will receive such education. Every one of them when he goes back to his village and town should become a person teaching others. If we do this kind of work, how rapidly things would move. I want this spirit to be in the Army, Navy and Air Force and that will not only be more effective and true service to the nation but that will bring our Defence Services, men and officers in touch with the general public and will create even closer bonds than exist today.

Now you know that we have adopted a motto³ which translated into English means 'Truth Alone Triumphs'. It is not a new thing. We have taken these words from ancient scriptures thousands of years old. That was the message which our forefathers gave to our people. How far we are living up to them I do not know. You can judge it by reading history. But that message I have no doubt, gave strength to our people in many crises and so did a repetition of that message which the Father of our Nation gave us. Now, in all humility, but with all confidence, we have again adopted this message for our nation and I should like young men of

3. *Satyameva jayate.*

the Army, Navy and Air Force to remember that while your business is in a sense the business of war, the business of killing, nevertheless we are a nation of peace. We seek to promote peace not only in our country and with our neighbours, but in the world at large. We, in our very humble capacity, are still the inheritors of a great tradition and we are still followers of a very great man who passed away a short time ago. Therefore, whatever we may do, we try to further the cause of peace and truth. If circumstances compel us then we take to the sword because there is no alternative, but we take to it in self-defence and not for aggression. If we keep this in view then we shall perhaps create a new tradition for the Army, Navy and Air Force somewhat different, slightly different from the traditions of the Defence Forces of other countries. I do not say that our forces—Army, Navy and Air Force—are in any way superior to others. I think that it is foolish for any country to think itself to be better than the other. We all have our faults and failings. I should like our Defence Forces to aim high and to have the ideals of this nation drawn from history, to think of the great lesson the great Mahatma taught us, and think always of the service to the country, and of the people of the country, and to think always, whatever happens, to preserve the freedom of this country and never permit anyone else to harm it. *Jai Hind.*

12

IN NORTH AMERICA

I. On the Eve

1. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
August 24, 1949

Nan dear,

I continue to receive telegrams and letters about my programme in the U.S. I do not think it worthwhile to forward them to you, as I presume you were also addressed directly on the subject. I had a telegram from Clare Luce saying that she had given up attending public functions, but she hoped to have a chance of seeing me. I should like to meet her somewhere.²

The time for my departure for London and the U.S. is drawing near or at any rate it seems very near, although I still have six weeks here. But these six weeks are so very full in every way that I shall have to work at express speed. I am also going out of Delhi during this period repeatedly. After another two days, I go to Kanpur for meetings of the Provincial Congress. A little later I go to Allahabad to pay a long deferred visit. About the middle of September I am having a brief tour in East Punjab and later in September I go to Srinagar for two or three days.

Meanwhile the Constituent Assembly drags on and there are fierce debates on the question of language.³ I have felt very distressed at the attitude of the champions of Hindi. It is not Hindi that I object to at all, but the narrowness and bigotry of the onslaught. The effects of Partition cling to us. The old Urdu-Hindi controversy is really dead, because most of the people who stood for Urdu are not here and those who remain have been rather overwhelmed by events. Hindi is therefore supreme, but still its protagonists fight a shadow battle with an opponent who is not there. Even poor Hindustani irritates them beyond measure. I am afraid Bapu would have felt very unhappy about all this. Perhaps if he was here, our decisions would have been somewhat different. Maulana feels unhappy and distressed.

Hindi has been accepted, but we have just managed to bring in Hindustani, insofar as the content of Hindi is concerned. People from South India have insisted on another fifteen years of English. The argument is still going on.

The next argument is going to be the name of this unhappy country. Bharat is suggested. I have no objection to Bharat, but I would hate to give up Hindustan. Anyway India will remain officially and for foreign purposes, and that is one good thing.

Radhakrishnan is leaving tomorrow for London and Moscow. He came to dinner tonight and I invited the Russian Embassy people to meet him. Novikov⁴ is in

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

2. Nehru met her on 16 October in New York.

3. See *ante*, pp. 146-153.

4. K.V. Novikov.

Moscow or somewhere in Russia. This sending of Radhakrishnan to Moscow is rather an interesting experiment. I am more and more coming to the opinion that we should speak a little more the language of India in foreign countries, that is the Indian mind. It may sound odd to others, but it should make them think a little and realize that India is not just a copy of the West. We have our own way of thought and action, though we try to modernize it, but the roots remain. That approach would indeed be more in consonance with reality, though it is not the approach of New Delhi. To get out of the New Delhi approach is no bad thing.

Within two or three days, B.N. Rau would be going to New York. It is quite possible that this Kashmir issue might come up before the Security Council, though I do not think this will happen for sometime. You have been kept informed of developments. The papers announce that Nimitz is being considered as a mediator or as an arbitrator. We have had no official approach. I do not myself see how we can accept an arbitrator in any vital point and certainly we have no intention of having Nimitz who has expressed himself unfavourably to us already.

I think Bajpai sent you some papers about a correspondence we had with the American Ambassador regarding the attitude of the State Department. I might inform you that I had an interview with Henderson,⁴ the American Ambassador here in that connection and I expressed myself rather forcefully to him. I told him that we would stick by the right in Kashmir, even if it costs a lot to us and that we would accept the decision of the people of Kashmir, as we could never remain there against their will. Even if this present dispute ended and the people of Kashmir did not want us later, we would not force ourselves upon them. Having made this clear, I went on to say that I attached the greatest importance to certain moral and like issues and I was convinced that Pakistan's behaviour in Kashmir had been disgraceful from beginning to end. I was further convinced that it would be ruin for Kashmir if Pakistan got there and so, so far as I was concerned, I would do my utmost to prevent that happening. I felt strongly about this matter and I saw no reason not to do so. To balance India and Pakistan as if they were on a level in regard to Kashmir seemed to me utterly wrong. Anyhow we were not going to surrender feebly to aggression whatever the consequences and whatever other people thought.

The economic position here is very distressing and disturbing. The immediate result of this is that we are trying to cut down our expenditure in every direction. I do not intend to make any purchases in the U.S. apart from some petty things, in order to save dollars.

B.N. Rau is a good man, able, intelligent and creates a good impression on people. But he is rather passive. I think he is a little afraid that you might dominate over him because of your personality. One or two messages that you sent by telegram or letter contained some phrases which might have been avoided. I wrote

4. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol.12, pp. 342-343.

to you about one such matter in another letter. I want you to be perfectly frank in any personal letter that you might send me. But in any other kind of message I suggest that you say nothing which might hurt other people. It is seldom worthwhile saying or doing things which hurt. It comes in the way of work.

I hope you will deal with B.N. Rau in a friendly manner and not make him feel in the least that you are coming in his way....

I think often, whenever I have the time to think, of this coming American visit. In what mood shall I approach America? How should I address people, etc.? How should I deal with the Government there and businessmen and others? Which facet of myself should I put before the American public—the Indian or the European, for after all I have that European or English aspect also. I shall have to meet some difficult situations. I want to be friendly with the Americans but always making it clear what we stand for. I want to make no commitments which come in the way of our basic policy. I am inclined to think that the best preparation for America is not to prepare and to trust to my native wit and the mood of the moment, the general approach being friendly and receptive. I go there to learn more than to teach. Indeed I have no desire to teach, unless of course people learn indirectly and rather casually. I have met large numbers of Americans and read a good number of books on America. And yet I am not really acquainted, in the intimate way one should be acquainted, with the American atmosphere. I am receptive if I want to be and I propose to be receptive in the U.S. I want to see their good points and that is the best approach to a country. At the same time I do not propose to be swept away by them. I do not think there is much chance of that.

With love from

Jawahar

2. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
September 23, 1949

Nan dear,

The time is drawing near for my departure from India. Just at this last moment almost big changes have taken place and quite a number of major problems confront us. Devaluation is, of course, a very big thing with far-reaching consequences. The fact that Pakistan has stuck to its old position creates all kinds of new difficulties. The refugee problem is ever with us in a state of suppressed intensity. Prices have a tendency to go up and have to be checked. In regard to food I have taken a personal interest and I think this has made some difference. We hope to have a good harvest. If we could get a large supply of wheat on some system of deferred payment from the U.S.A., this would help us very much. This question has been raised informally in various ways here. Probably it will come up for discussion when we are there.

It is clear that we have to do our utmost now to avoid dollar expenditure. Our purchases from the dollar area will be very strictly limited to absolutely essential commodities, chiefly machinery. Visitors to the dollar areas will not be encouraged. As few as possible officials will be sent. Even as regards students, we shall have to revise our policy. All this is rather unfortunate, but for the present there is no help for it. Our missions in the dollar areas will have to exercise the strictest economy.

Whatever the problems of India, I shall of course leave as arranged on the 7th October from Bombay reaching London on the 8th and reaching Washington on the 11th morning. Bajpai has informed you that I am prepared to stay in the U.S. upto the 7th November, if necessary. I have got an extra day free and I would not like you to make any engagements for that day. I should like to keep it in hand.

During my stay in the U.S. I should very much like to meet Professor Einstein.² I have long wanted to meet him and have not succeeded.

Indu is much better, but I am not yet quite sure if she will be able to go with me.

Yours,
Jawahar

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Nehru met Albert Einstein on 5 November at Princeton.

3. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
September 28, 1949

Nan dear,

...The time for my departure is also perilously near and I am cramming in all kinds of activities during these few days. I doubt if I could have chosen a worse time to leave India, from the point of view of the urgent issues that we have to face here. But however that may be, I cannot change my programme.

I think I wrote to you, and in any event you must know, that President Truman is sending his aircraft, *Independence*, for me to London. For my return journey from the U.S., there is just a chance of one of the Tata's new Constellations coming from the U.S. about the time. They are buying it there and ferrying it across early in November. If the dates fit in, I might come by it to London. I gave you November 7th as my last date in the U.S. You might treat this as slightly provisional. It might be the 6th. Anyhow keep the 6th and the 7th free.

I should certainly like to meet Negro leaders like Bunche,² White³ and others. As for Paul⁴ and Essie Robeson,⁵ I would be unhappy if I did not meet them. That is not my way, so I hope you will arrange some private meeting.

I have telegraphed to you about the two-minute *Herald Tribune* forum speech⁶ and the ten-minute Chicago University round table conference. I am agreeable, if you can find the time.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

2. Ralph J. Bunche.

3. Walter Francis White (1893-1955); Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1931-55; author of *Fire in the Flint* (1924), *Flight* (1926) and his autobiography *A Man Called White* (1948).

4. Paul Robeson.

5. Eslanda C.G. Robeson (1896-1965); anthropologist and wife of Paul Robeson.

6. See *post*, pp. 346-347.

4. Farewell to Countrymen¹

I have received a large number of messages and good wishes on the eve of my departure. But the great and most exhilarating of all was what I saw and heard in Pune yesterday. My visits to Pune and Khadakvasla were exhilarating, because I saw there the past and present before me and saw also the love of the people of India and the generosity with which they enveloped me. Those good wishes I should carry with me and they should keep me in good cheer.

Perhaps, it is a good thing that for five weeks or so you will not be troubled by my speeches and broadcasts. It will be a relief to you. I shall think of you all the time I am away. I shall think of the problems which you and I have to face and the work which you and I and all of us have to do. For, we have to do a good deal of work; and we are determined to overcome these difficulties.

And so, goodbye to you for a while and good fortune. *Jai Hind*.

1. Message to the Nation on the eve of departure for the United States of America, Bombay, 7 October 1949. From the *National Herald*, 8 October 1949.

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IN NORTH AMERICA

II. The United States



WITH PRESIDENT TRUMAN ON ARRIVAL IN WASHINGTON, 11 OCTOBER 1949



AT A DINNER BY DEAN ACHESON, WASHINGTON, 12 OCTOBER 1949



ADDRESSING THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, WASHINGTON, 13 OCTOBER 1949



WITH DEAN ACHESON, WASHINGTON, 13 OCTOBER 1949

i. IN WASHINGTON

1. Fulfilment of a Long-felt Desire¹

Mr President, I am deeply grateful to you for your warm words of welcome.

At this moment, when for the first time I am setting foot on the soil of this great country, it is of great significance for me, because it brings about the fulfilment of a long-felt desire.

I come to you, Mr President, bringing to you and to this great Republic the cordial greetings of my Government and my people of the new Republic to be of India; and I trust that these two Republics of the western world and the eastern world will find many ways of working together in friendly and fruitful cooperation to our mutual advantage, and for the good of humanity.

I thank you again, Mr President, for your welcome.

1. Speech on arrival at Washington airport, 11 October 1949. Harry S. Truman Library Papers, Independence, Missouri, U.S.A.

2. Record of Talk with Dean Acheson¹

...The Prime Minister told me² of his desire to have a stockpile of one million tons of wheat. This was necessary to assure the food supply and to reduce the price of wheat which he hoped to reduce by approximately 10 per cent. This was a key commodity, the price of which controlled other prices in India. Although the agricultural interests had had a difficult time for many years, he thought in the recent past they had done well and could stand this reduction in price. Other classes of the population were suffering and this price adjustment was essential for their welfare. The matter had been discussed by some of his officials with some of ours. He understood that the matter would require legislation. I said that we were working on it and would be glad to intensify our efforts since I understood that this was a matter of primary importance to them. We would consider legislation to permit sales of Government wheat at reduced prices. We would consider the possibility

1. Minutes of a meeting, Washington, D.C. 12 October 1949. File No. 845.002/10-1249, Department of State, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Extracts.
2. Acheson was the U.S. Secretary of State, 1949-53.

of legislation permitting us to store wheat in India and sell it as withdrawals were necessary, and the combination of these ideas and others, might be devised.

He had had a telegram from Hatta at The Hague on the question of assumption of debts. Apparently, the Dutch were insisting that the Indonesians should assume a large proportion of the debt, including that incurred for the purpose of fighting them. They thought this unjust. Although the Prime Minister could not remember the exact figures involved, he understood that the Dutch were pressing for a figure which would be expressed as "six". The Indonesians were willing to assume an amount represented by "three" and might be able to approve this. He thought that this was another example of the unwisdom of the Dutch in "dragging their feet" and stubbornly insisting upon demands until they were outmoded by time and until concessions lost all their grace. I said that we had already gotten into trouble with the Dutch through what I regarded as sound efforts of Mr Cochran² to give help in this very situation. However, we would review it again and see if there was anything we might do to help.

The Prime Minister said with considerable force and feeling that he thought that the Bao Dai experiment was hopeless and doomed to failure.³ The French held only the populous centers and certain lines of communication. The rest of the country was in the hands of the Nationalists. Bao Dai did not have the character, the ability or the reputation to make a success of the experiment nor were the French giving it adequate scope. I asked what, in his opinion, was the alternative. He thought that it was the nationalist movement although he stated that he was convinced that Ho Chi Minh was a Communist.

I asked whether he did not believe that there was great danger in any movement controlled by the Communists even though it appeared to be a coalition since the history of similar movements showed that the Communists liquidated their associates and took over. He thought that this view was a misapplication to the East of European experience although he agreed that this was not the case in China. He thought that in India, Indo-China and Burma and, he hoped in Indo-China, history would show that the Communists undertook to operate at first as the left wing of the nationalist movement and under cover of the nationalist movement. However, at an early stage in the cases mentioned, they undertook to break with the movement and to fight it in an attempt to secure control. In the other cases they had lost. It was his hope, and, I think, his judgment that this would be repeated in Indo-China. I mentioned the grave difficulty that such a course presented for the French, and particularly for Schuman,⁴ who, I believed, was attempting to lead

2. H. Merle Cochran was the U.S. Representative on the Committee of Good Offices and on the U.N. Commission for Indonesia at this time.
3. In July 1948, the French derecognised the Viet Minh Government headed by Ho Chi Minh and on 8 March 1949, signed an agreement with Bao Dai, ex-emperor of Annam—a state in Vietnam and spoke of the unity and independence of Vietnam within the framework of the French Union.
4. Robert Schuman was the Minister of Foreign Affairs at that time.

the French along the right line in Indo-China. The Prime Minister thought that in this case it was not really Mr Schuman who was in control but the permanent officers in the Foreign Office and elsewhere in the Government, who he believed were perfectly hopeless on this question.

The Prime Minister expressed the views which he repeated the next day in his conversation with the President that are outlined in that memorandum, and I refer to it here. His talk was clearly slanted towards early recognition.⁵ I told him that that was not our view, that we thought it important in this case not to believe that any advantage could be gained for the country in according early recognition, and that our primary concern here was to indicate by our conduct our deep interest and concern for the welfare of the Chinese people. I thought that this might be done by indicating in our handling of the situation that we were concerned for instance that the Government actually did control all of China and that by early recognition we were sacrificing the interests of some portions of the country which were still attempting to maintain its independence of Communist control. Then, too, we should show our concern that the Government should establish some form of acquiescence by the Chinese people. While this might be something which could not be done, it was important that the Chinese people should know we were thinking in these terms. Finally, the Government should be required to state its international obligations. He asked how we could bring our own attitude to the attention of the Chinese people. I thought that this might be done both through the Voice of America and by printed material which could be circulated. He doubted whether such material could be effectively circulated. His general attitude seemed to be that since recognition was doubtless inevitable, there was little purpose in postponing it by diplomatic manouvers.

I asked the Prime Minister to talk to me fully and frankly on this subject⁶ so that I might have a real understanding of his point of view. He gave a long history of the dispute, the upshot of which was that Kashmir had been invaded by tribesmen through Pakistan and he thought with their consent and assistance, and later by Pakistan troops, operating through the thin disguise of being on leave and subsequently, he believed, in regular formation. Pakistan for a long time had denied any such action and only recently had admitted it. He spoke bitterly of Pakistan deception and intrigue. Indian troops had entered Kashmir only upon the invitation and request of the Government after the invasion had taken place and only just in time to prevent the complete occupation of the country. Subsequent military occupation had driven back the invaders although they still occupied part of the country, and several hundred thousand refugees had either abandoned their homes or had been driven out.

He then spoke of the fact that there was in this whole matter a very profound ideological issue. Pakistan wished to create a religious State and wished Kashmir

5. Of the Communist Government in China.

6. On Kashmir.

to be a part of their nation because the inhabitants were largely Muslims. This he thought struck at the very basis of stability in the Indian sub-continent. The Indian idea was one of a secular State, in which religion had nothing to do with the participation of the citizen in government. India had in high office many Muslims. There were some thirty-five million Muslims in India. To establish now a religious basis for adherence of provinces would have a profoundly unsettling effect upon all the Muslims in India, and upon the Hindus in Pakistan. A plebiscite campaign based on these principles would be inflammatory and disastrous throughout the sub-continent.

One of his basic ideas seemed to be that preliminary to any solution of the matter was some authoritative statement from the United Nations or its Commission that Pakistan was the aggressor and had no claim or interest although he readily admitted that if the people of Kashmir by a free vote wished to adhere to Pakistan, he would offer no objection of any sort. I said that I understood what he had told me but I was not clear as to his idea for getting forward with a peaceful solution of the matter. How was that to be done?

He thought that the primary conception should be mediation of the whole problem. He thought that there was a truce in fact but that what was now needed was direct discussion with the help of a mediator between Pakistan and India as to subsequent steps. In the Indian view the Pakistani troops and the armed tribesmen must withdraw. It would be urged for the sake of apparent balance that the Indian troops should also withdraw. He believed that this would not lead to a peaceful solution because the Pakistani, having much readier access, could at any moment return and upset the situation. He thought, therefore, that some Indian troops for police purposes should be left.

He thought the refugees should be permitted to return to their homes. He thought then that the problem was one of how to consult the wishes of the Kashmir people. This might be done through a plebiscite although the nature of the country and of its population would make this a very lengthy and difficult question. Furthermore, he thought the problem was somewhat too complicated to be solved by the individuals in the entire country answering yes or no to a question which might be framed. He thought that it would be preferable to have a constituent assembly of the natural leaders of the people elected to meet and discuss their future. This might lead to a decision to adhere to one or the other of the nations or it might lead to some possible division. At this point he returned to the idea of a finding of fact that Pakistan had been the aggressor...

I forgot to note above that in one point of the historical narrative he told me that Abdullah, I believe the present Prime Minister, although a Muslim had been a member of the Congress Party and had been imprisoned by the Maharaja, a Hindu. Nehru had similarly been imprisoned by the Maharaja, and subsequently had obtained Abdullah's release. He thought that Abdullah shared his views of the non-secular State, and that the decision to adhere to India had been made by Abdullah and the Maharaja after their country had been placed in a precarious situation by the invasion.

3. Record of Talk with President Truman¹

...The Prime Minister noted that a great change had come over all the Asian peoples. They no longer accepted poverty and misery with resignation and believed that an organized effort was capable of improving their situation. All of this great change was being expressed politically through the growing nationalism in Asia. It was this nationalism which had completely outmoded the colonial status. Wherever it came in conflict with colonialism there was trouble. Wherever that obstacle was removed, progress was possible although other difficulties still existed...

The President referred to the Kashmir situation as one of the problems which he hoped fell within the Prime Minister's determination to solve without conflict. The Prime Minister assured the President that this was so. He reviewed the circumstances which led to his belief that an important and perhaps basic element in the Kashmir situation was to solve this problem on other than an adherence to one nation or another on a religious basis. He thought that determination on a religious basis would have a deeply unsettling effect upon the Muslims living in India and upon the Hindus living in Pakistan. He discussed the Indian conception of the secular State which the President said was thoroughly in accord with American institutions and ideas...

The conversation then turned to the situation in China. The Prime Minister expressed his view that the basic situation in China was that the agrarian revolution, which had begun many years ago but had been intensified in 1911, had been so mishandled by the Kuomintang that power had fallen by default into the hands of the Communists. He thought that they were not desired in China but were accepted in the absence of any other apparent force interested in dealing with the problem. He thought that communism was alien to the Chinese mind and that foreign domination would be deeply resented. He believed that the course of events would restore Chinese nationalism as a governing force and would weaken the subservience to Moscow.

In regard to recognition, he thought that India's proximity to China put India in a somewhat different position from that of other countries and indicated a leaning toward early recognition.² The President hoped that this was a matter in regard to which the non-Communist countries could consult and if possible concert their action. The Prime Minister agreed that there should certainly be consultation...

1. Minutes of a meeting in Washington D.C., 13 October 1949. File No. 845.002/10-1349, Department of State, National Archives, Washington D.C. Extracts. Also printed in *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1949, Vol. VI, pp. 1750-1751.
2. India recognized the People's Republic of China on 30 December 1949.

4. Viewing with a Friendly Eye¹

I always had much love for this great country and I have been an admirer of your leaders since my boyhood. Some of them have been my heroes.

So when the chance came of visiting the United States, I was excited about coming here and meeting some of the leading personalities in the country.

I was also a little alarmed at the prospect as I was not used to speech-making early in my career. The kind of audiences I had normally addressed were simple folks and simple folks do not find too much fault with what you say.

As the numbers of the audience grew I attained greater confidence, but shyness returns to me on occasions like this, and when things of the kind that Mr Acheson has said² are mentioned it makes me still more alarmed and embarrassed. I am not quite sure what I am and, if I am not sure, I doubt if you can be. As for scholarship I do not lay claim to a great deal of it.

Unfortunately for me, I had a long period of self-education. I had the peculiar good fortune of spending a large number of years in prison. That period was a significant and profitable period of my life. It led me not only to reading a great deal but also to much thinking. It was during this period that I used to practise standing on my head and it was a relief both for the body and the mind. It has enabled me to face life's problems without too much education.

No State in the world can be without a blemish. India is a very old country and age has for any country both advantages and disadvantages. It is easy to pick out good things and bad things and India has both qualities.

For example, the city of Banaras, one of the oldest in the world, where the Buddha preached two thousand five hundred years ago, has both its good and bad points for any visitor.

I feel rather overwhelmed by the kindness and friendship I have met with since I arrived. By the time I finish, I am afraid I shall be in a state of collapse from the amount of goodwill and friendship that I shall have received here. I thank you very much for all your goodwill.

I have come here not with a blind eye, but with a friendly eye and a friendly outlook. I have come here with a sincere desire to learn.

1. Speech at a dinner given in Washington D.C. by Dean Acheson, 13 October 1949. From *The Bombay Chronicle* and *The Hindustan Times*, 14 October 1949.

2. Acheson had ranked Nehru with Abraham Lincoln because "neither of them was a man afraid of the word politics, but understood that politics means the act of government." He also mentioned Nehru as a "scholar in politics", whom modern Americans found it hard to understand.

5. A Voyage of Discovery¹

Mr Speaker, Sir,²

I thank you for your warm words of welcome. I deem it a high honour and privilege to be given this opportunity of addressing this House, and I must express to you, Sir, my gratitude for it. For, this House represents in a large measure this great Republic which is playing such a vital part in the destinies of mankind today.

I have come to this country to learn something of your great achievements. I have come also to convey the greetings of my people and in the hope that my visit may help to create a greater understanding between our respective peoples and those strong and sometimes invisible links, stronger even than physical links, that bind countries together become stronger.

The President referred the day before yesterday, in language of significance, to my visit as a voyage of discovery of America. The United States of America is not an unknown country even in far-off India and many of us have grown up in admiration of the ideals and objectives which have made this country great. Yet, though we may know the history and something of the culture of our respective countries, what is required is a true understanding and appreciation of each other even where we differ. Out of that understanding grows fruitful cooperation in the pursuit of common ideals. What the world today lacks most is, perhaps, understanding and appreciation of one another among nations and people. I have come here, therefore, on a voyage of discovery of the mind and heart of America and to place before you our own mind and heart. Thus, we may promote that understanding and cooperation which, I feel sure, both our countries earnestly desire. Already I have received a welcome here, the generous warmth of which has created a deep impression on my mind and, indeed, somewhat overwhelmed me.

During the last two days that I have been in Washington I have paid visits to the memorials of the great builders of this nation.³ I have done so not for the sake of mere formality but because they have long been enshrined in my heart and their example has inspired me as it has inspired innumerable countrymen of mine. These memorials are the real temples to which each generation must pay tribute and, in doing so, must catch something of the fire that burnt in the hearts

1. Address to the U.S. House of Representatives, Washington D.C., 13 October 1949. A.I.R. tapes and P.I.B. The same day an identical speech was delivered by Nehru in the U.S. Senate.
2. Sam Rayburn.
3. Nehru visited the Jefferson Memorial, the Lincoln Memorial, the Arlington National Cemetery and the Washington Monument.

of those who were the torch-bearers of freedom, not only for this country but for the world; for those who are truly great have a message that cannot be confined within a particular country but is for all the world.

In India, there came a man in our own generation who inspired us to great endeavour, ever reminding us that thought and action should never be divorced from moral principle, that the true path of man is the path of truth and peace. Under his guidance, we laboured for the freedom of our country, with ill will to none and achieved that freedom. We called him reverently and affectionately the Father of our Nation. Yet he was too great for the circumscribed borders of any one country and the message he gave may well help us in considering the wider problems of the world.

The United States of America has struggled to freedom and unparalleled prosperity during the past century and a half and today it is a great and powerful nation. It has an amazing record of growth in material well-being and scientific and technological advance. It could not have accomplished this unless America had been anchored in the great principles laid down in the early days of her history, for material progress cannot go far or last long unless it has its foundations in moral principles and high ideals.

Those principles and ideals are enshrined in your Declaration of Independence, which lays down as a self-evident truth that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It may interest you to know that, in drafting the Constitution of the Republic of India, we have been greatly influenced by your own Constitution. The Preamble of our Constitution states:

We, the People of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizens:

Justice, social, economic and political; Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; Equality of status and of opportunity; And to promote among them all Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the Unity of the Nation; In our Constituent Assembly do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution.

You will recognize in these words that I have quoted an echo of the great voices of the founders of your Republic. You will see that though India may speak to you in a voice that you may not immediately recognize or that may perhaps appear somewhat alien to you, yet that voice somewhat strongly resembles what you have often heard before.

Yet, it is true that India's voice is somewhat different; it is not the voice of the old world of Europe but of the older world of Asia. It is the voice of an ancient civilization, distinctive, vital, which, at the same time, has renewed itself and learned much from you and the other countries of the West. It is, therefore, both old and new. It has its roots deep in the past but it also has the dynamic urge of today.

But, however the voices of India and the United States may appear to differ, there is much in common between them. Like you, we have achieved our freedom through a revolution, though our methods were different from yours. Like you we shall be a Republic based on the federal principle, which is an outstanding contribution of the founders of this great Republic. In a vast country like India, as in this great Republic of the United States, it becomes necessary to have a delicate balance between Central control and State autonomy. We have placed in the forefront of our Constitution those fundamental human rights to which all men who love liberty, equality and progress aspire—the freedom of the individual, the equality of men and the rule of law. We enter, therefore, the community of free nations with the roots of democracy deeply embedded in our institutions as well as in the thoughts of our people.

We have achieved political freedom but our revolution is not yet complete and is still in progress, for political freedom without the assurance of the right to live and to pursue happiness, which economic progress alone can bring, can never satisfy a people. Therefore, our immediate task is to raise the living standards of our people, to remove all that comes in the way of the economic growth of the nation. We have tackled the major problem of India, as it is today the major problem of Asia, the agrarian problem. Much that was feudal in our system of land tenure is being changed so that the fruits of cultivation should go to the tiller of the soil and that he may be secure in the possession of the land he cultivates. In a country of which agriculture is still the principal industry, this reform is essential not only for the well-being and contentment of the individual but also for the stability of society. One of the main causes of social instability in many parts of the world, more especially in Asia, is agrarian discontent due to the continuance of systems of land tenure which are completely out of place in the modern world. Another and one which is also true of the greater part of Asia and Africa, is the low standard of living of the masses.

India is industrially more developed than many less fortunate countries and is reckoned as the seventh or eighth among the world's industrial nations. But this arithmetical distinction cannot conceal the poverty of the great majority of our people. To remove this poverty by greater production, more equitable distribution, better education and better health, is the paramount need and the most pressing task before us and we are determined to accomplish this task. We realize that self-help is the first condition of success for a nation, no less than for an individual. We are conscious that ours must be the primary effort and we shall seek succour from none to escape from any part of our own responsibility. But though our economic potential is great, its conversion into finished wealth will need much mechanical and technological aid. We shall, therefore, gladly welcome such aid and cooperation on terms that are of mutual benefit. We believe that this may well help in the solution of the larger problems that confront the world. But we do not seek any material advantage in exchange for any part of our hard-won freedom.

The objectives of our foreign policy are the preservation of world peace and enlargement of human freedom. Two tragic Wars have demonstrated the futility of warfare. Victory without the will to peace achieves no lasting result and victor and vanquished alike suffer from deep and grievous wounds and a common fear of the future. May I venture to say that this is not an incorrect description of the world of today? It is not flattering either to man's reason or to our common humanity. Must this unhappy state persist and the power of science and wealth continue to be harnessed to the service of destruction? Every nation, great or small, has to answer this question and the greater a nation, the greater is its responsibility to find and to work for the right answer.

India may be new to world politics and her military strength insignificant in comparison with that of the giants of our epoch. But India is old in thought and experience and has travelled through trackless centuries in the adventure of life. Throughout her long history she has stood for peace and every prayer that an Indian raises, ends with an invocation to peace. It was out of this ancient and yet young India that Mahatma Gandhi arose and he taught us a technique of action that was peaceful; yet it was effective and yielded results that led us not only to freedom but to friendship with those with whom we were, till yesterday, in conflict. How far can that principle be applied to wider spheres of action? I do not know, for circumstances differ and the means to prevent evil have to be shaped and set to the nature of the evil. Yet I have no doubt that the basic approach which lay behind that technique of action was the right approach in human affairs and the only approach that ultimately solves a problem satisfactorily. We have to achieve freedom and to defend it. We have to meet aggression and to resist it and the force employed must be adequate to the purpose. But even when preparing to resist aggression, the ultimate objective, the objective of peace and reconciliation, must never be lost sight of and heart and mind must be attuned to this supreme aim and not swayed or clouded by hatred or fear.

This is the basis and the goal of our foreign policy. We are neither blind to reality nor do we propose to acquiesce in any challenge to man's freedom from whatever quarter it may come. Where freedom is menaced or justice threatened or where aggression takes place, we cannot be and shall not be neutral. What we plead for and endeavour to practise in our own imperfect way is a binding faith in peace and an unfailing endeavour of thought and action to ensure it. The great democracy of the United States of America will, I feel sure, understand and appreciate our approach to life's problems because it could not have any other aim or a different ideal. Friendship and cooperation between our two countries are, therefore, natural. I stand here to offer both in the pursuit of justice, liberty and peace.

6. Promotion of Mutual Understanding¹

I have come to the United States not to make any deals but to become acquainted with the American scene and to promote mutual understanding.

I came here not for the specific purpose of discussing problems, but really to fulfil my own desire to make the visit. I think a person engaged in public affairs cannot understand the modern world unless he understands the United States which is playing such an important part in the modern world.

Naturally, however, if I come here, I want to meet important leaders, political, scientific and industrial. It is interesting for me to discuss various problems with eminent men here, mainly to understand their views and if possible to explain our viewpoints to them.

If there are means of cooperation between India and U.S.A., I would like to explore them. Such cooperation would be to our mutual advantage. I do not think the great technological and material development made by the U.S. can go far or endure for long without progress along cultural, philosophical or social lines.

Indians have been, in a sense, naturally hostile to the U.K. because Britain had controlled India and she fought against her during the last thirty years. Nevertheless, India was influenced by this British connection in education and other fields.

I am myself a product of British schools and universities. We have been influenced greatly by English literature, the British system of law and her general way of looking at things.

It is true that India is a distinctive country with a distinctive philosophy of life in a changing world. The effects of outside influences, however great, have not submerged the powerful Indian individuality. In the thousands of years of Indian history, the country has absorbed the influences of invaders, traders, missionaries and others.

India has an enormous capacity for absorbing people. That is because India has a strong foundation in a philosophical outlook which is strong enough to survive shock after shock. In spite of hundred and fifty years of British rule, she has survived and has shown great capacity to adapt herself to changing conditions.

The world today is being greatly influenced by what is happening in Europe and America. It is neither possible nor desirable for the world to become a flat, regimented world with one way of thinking, eating and dressing.

I do not think it would be a pleasant world to live in. There is a great deal of variety in the world today and I do not see why it should not continue like that.

1. Address to the National Press Club, Washington D.C., 14 October 1949. From *The Hindustan Times*, 15 October and *The Hindu* and the *National Herald*, 16 October 1949.

There is a tendency by each country to look at other countries' ways and consider that their own ways must necessarily be right. But whether right or wrong, it is necessary to understand other countries' ways in order to understand other people.

India's geographical position in Asia, both commercially and strategically was very important but India's contacts with the rest of Asia were severed with the coming of the British. For more than a hundred years we were cut off from the neighbouring countries of Asia and our contacts with them were through London and Paris. Thus British rule in India has cut that country off partly deliberately and partly due to economic orientation.

Now, because of political changes and the development of airways, suddenly the barriers between us and Asian countries have fallen and we are getting together. India now looks towards the Asian countries, reviving old memories of their former close contacts.

India today wishes to have peace and leisure to build up the country and help others. We do not want anything to happen to halt the progress of our development, but we cannot always follow our paths because of other conflicting factors.

Asian leadership is being thrust upon India. India does not want any kind of leadership. We are busy with our work. Nevertheless our pivotal position prevents us from going into our shells. We cannot help it.

India is intensely interested in Indonesia, Indo-China and other Asian countries. We are interested for practical and definite psychological reasons. One of the governing factors of Asia's thought is the feeling of nationalism.

Once you remove foreign or colonial domination, nationalism has full play. When nationalism is suppressed there is an immediate and tremendous reaction. The mind of Asia immediately turns to wherever it is being suppressed.

The people sympathize with me because part of my life had been spent in prison. As a matter of fact I profited from imprisonment more than anything else, because it gave me time for thought, which brought a certain equilibrium. Perhaps many of our problems could easily be solved if some of our statesmen, instead of making speeches, just sat down quietly to think and meditate for a little while.

In Kashmir, it is India who made the unilateral statement that Kashmir should have self-determination. India's entire background was opposed to holding Kashmir by military force.

I regret that my programme does not permit me to visit out of the way places in the U.S.A. and to see and meet common folk such as those on farms and to get to know something about them. Many years of my life in political agitation were spent meeting and mixing with common folk in India, such as the peasantry, to seek to understand their problems. I think it is very important to make contacts with common people and my chief grievance as Prime Minister is that I cannot meet them as often as I would like.

I would welcome U.S. investments in India and hope that overall trade relations between the two countries would improve greatly. European investments had helped

to develop America and now they flow back. American investors in India would get a guarantee of the opportunity of a fair field, equal treatment and of taking profits home.

But India does not intend to become involved in the Anglo-American cold war with Russia if it can possibly avoid it. We try to view world affairs in their broader context. It is important not to be tied up too closely with immediate problems. Any Pacific pact at this time is premature. What is more important than a defence pact is the development of a psychological background of cooperation.

Our main task at present is the building up of our own country. But India would constantly be ready to resist any aggression. If there is war in any part of Asia it has some close effect on India.

I do not think it is impractical for India to remain neutral in the psychological struggle of the world. A practical man is quite impractical because he sees only what is directly in front of his nose and not what is behind or beside it.

The problems, such as the Soviet, American and British dispute over Berlin are of interest to Indians, but they are not considered nearly so significant as affairs in Asia. Historical developments are bringing Asia to the forefront of world affairs. What happens in Asia is very important and we try to view it in that context and not get too mixed up in other immediate things.

7. Record of Conversation with the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations¹

...The Prime Minister immediately launched into a full discussion of India and United States relations with Russia as he understands them. He did so in a tone and attitude of equality and partnership of understanding and purpose between India and the United States. He said that he did not know that he could say what all of the people of India felt towards Russia as the people of the United States do but that India has lost all faith in Russia and in the dependability of Russia's words. He traced in detail the Indian experience with communism, saying that prior to the Second World War there was little or no communism in India but that during the War the British, in their search for some element of popular support among the people and at a time when the Congress leaders were in jail, encouraged the development of a strong Communist Party which would assist in the war effort because of Russia's involvement in the War. Although he said that the British now

1. Joseph S. Spark's record of the meeting, New York, 19 October 1949. From *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1949, Vol. VI, pp. 1752-1756. Extracts.

regretted their actions, their result was that the Communist Party in India emerged from the War greatly strengthened and expanded. He stressed that communism had enjoyed a great deal of goodwill in India because of the progress which Indians understood had been made in Russia and particularly in Central Asia, because of the poverty in India, and because of the agrarian nature of India's population. Following the gaining of India's independence, however, the Communists had turned on the Indian Government under guidance from Moscow and had alienated the people by resorting to large-scale violence. The reservoir of goodwill which the Communists had enjoyed had thus been dissipated as the Indian people came to realize that the Communists stood not for the pure Marxist communist theories but for destruction and violence.

The Prime Minister said that his Government had sufficient strength to deal with the physical threat to its existence which the Communists posed, and that already the Communist Party was splitting within itself between those who wish to continue its program of violence and those who realize what they were losing by such violence. In this connection, he mentioned that the situation in China did not represent a real danger to India in the sense of external aggression which India was already strong enough to withstand but was a danger in the degree to which communist victories in neighbouring countries encouraged the Communists in India and led others to believe in the possibility of their success.

Pandit Nehru said that he felt the important element in dealing with communism was the nature of 'our approach' to the problem and that he felt that approach should be psychological and indirect instead of direct. Ambassador Austin² asked if he meant education by 'indirect approach.' The Prime Minister replied that education was important but that that was not quite what he had in mind. He said that the Ambassador would pardon him for being critical of the United States. It was his feeling that we too frequently dealt with the Russians in their own chosen weapons of name-calling, deprecation, and verbal belligerency and that the Russians were very hard to beat in that field because of their adeptness in the utilization of those weapons. He believed that such direct approaches should be avoided and that a sort of 'mental jiu-jitsu' would be more productive. He added that of course if one were faced with actual aggression, it would be necessary to resist, but that was not the situation now.

When Ambassador Austin asked if Pandit Nehru felt that grounds for cooperation existed with Russia, Nehru said that he thought there was very little basis for cooperation under the present circumstances, but that for the sake of our own public reactions we must never admit openly our belief in the lack of a basis for cooperation and must make every gesture possible of apparent cooperation. He said that the United States policy of attempting to contain communism had not been without its success and mentioned in particular and approvingly both the

2. Warren R. Austin was a Republican Senator and the U.S. Representative at the U.N.

Berlin incident³ and the Marshall Plan.⁴ But he felt that in the ideological realm we should make a greater show of attempted cooperation. Ambassador Austin said that he was in complete agreement with the Prime Minister, but believed that we did make every such show of cooperation. He said that we repeatedly stated and that it is true that our objective is the promotion of agreement and not the promotion of disagreement and that our policies and actions are in accordance with this objective of agreement.

Nehru said that according to his information, which he believed to be reliable, there was already a very real split among the Communists in China between those more ideologically subservient under Mao Tse-tung's leadership who sought to hue strictly to the Moscow line and those under Chou En-lai who wanted to build up international contacts and cooperation in trade. He said that he felt that China was experiencing a comprehensive agrarian revolution quite aside from the communist influence and that it was only the weakness of the national leadership which permitted the Communists to capitalize on the agrarian revolution to seize leadership.

It was the Prime Minister's opinion that the objective should be to divert the Communists away from Moscow leadership as quickly as possible. Because of the distance of China from Moscow, the size of the country, and most of all the phlegmatic characteristics of the people who were poverty-stricken rather than nationalistic and politically insensible rather than conscious, it was Nehru's belief that Russia in any event could not long dominate China and that a 'situation stronger than a Titoism' would grow up. He did believe, however, that the difficulties being experienced by the Communists which were outlined by Ambassador Jessup⁵ should be augmented as much as possible. In this connection he felt that as long as recognition was withheld and the Communists had not taken all of China (though he felt nothing could prevent them from doing so in the near future if they wished), the Communists could blame the failure to achieve fulfilment of the many promises which they had made for an improved life on the state of war that existed and on the 'foreign devils' who were responsible for it. Once they were unable to do this, he felt that their problems would be increased and fissiparous tendencies among them would grow...

3. In 1948, the Russians prevented land and water traffic reaching West Berlin. Britain and the United States of America flew in essentials, showed the West's determination not to give in to communist pressure, and confirmed the division of Berlin and Germany into East and West. The blockade was lifted in May 1949.
4. The United States programme of economic aid for Europe, proposed by the Secretary of State, George Marshall, in 1947. The plan dependent on the initiation and cooperation of European Governments in agreeing to a joint programme, encouraged the formation of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation.
5. Philip C. Jessup (1897-1986); taught international law and diplomacy at Columbia University, 1925-61; Assistant Secretary-General, U.N. Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, 1943-44; served in U.N. General Assembly, 1948, 1950 and 1953; and resumed academic work, 1953; Judge, International Court of Justice, 1961-70.

ii. REMAINDER OF THE VISIT

1. India and the Cold War¹

Question: Sir, a report has appeared that you have made no definite or implied commitments to align your country with the West in the cold war. Is it so?

Jawaharlal Nehru: We have no intention to commit ourselves to anybody at any time. The question does not arise and did not arise anywhere.

Q: In the present world what is India's position in the struggle between democracy and communism?

JN: Basically and absolutely, we follow the democratic method and a policy of peace.

1. At La Guardia Airport, New York, 15 October 1949. From *The New York Times*, 16 October 1949.

2. Building a New India¹

I have not come to the U.S.A. to ask for or expect any gift from America. My visit is essentially a visit of friendship.

We are too proud and cultured a people to seek favours from others. It is not my intention to ask for this or that kind of help. We may have difficulties before us, but we shall make good in spite of everything.

Many people have connected my visit with things that happened in the world after I had accepted President Truman's invitation. They are obviously wrong.

1. Address to the Indian residents of New York, New India House, New York, 15 October 1949. From *The Hindustan Times*, 17 October 1949.

I have not committed myself as between East and West. I do not commit myself anywhere to anyone. I have come here to develop friendly relations between the U.S.A. and India. I do not believe in formal ties.

There is no reason to be afraid of the future. We Indians have to work harder and follow the *mantra* given to us by Mahatma Gandhi to be absolutely fearless.

All kinds of thoughts crowd into my mind when I see so many Indians, who have made America their home. The younger generation should not concentrate merely on jobs and careers but should always give first place to the service of India in their thoughts.

With the new times, however, new responsibilities have come to India. Although India has passed through various trials during the past twenty to thirty years, the *mantra* of absolute fearlessness given to us by Mahatma Gandhi would again stand by us.

We, of course, want the friendly cooperation of America, but we must not forget that we have an individuality of our own. The Indian community should always view all things from the Indian standpoint.

U.S.A. and India should cooperate and try to solve many of the problems which confront both countries. I would like to have American assistance in developing our country but that must be on the basis of mutual advantage.

India will stand on her own feet. I have come to the U.S.A. principally to strengthen the ties of goodwill between the two countries. There are, of course, many ways in which the U.S.A. can help. But it is not my intention to ask for this or that kind of help. It is for our Ambassador to take care of such transactions. Any such deal can only be based on terms of mutual advantage. We are too proud and cultured a people to seek any favour from others. There may be difficulties ahead of us, but we shall make good in spite of everything. For thirty years we, as an unarmed nation, fought a powerful Empire on very unequal terms but at no time did we have the slightest doubt that we would not win.

Now we are a free nation and we should all be ready to face our tasks. There is no reason to be afraid of the future. The prospect is not too rosy for the whole world, including India, but it would be folly to be pessimistic.

The modern newspapers are continually keeping the world in a state of nervous anxiety. Some American newspapermen had asked me questions about complicated matters as if they could be answered in a few words. I do not intend to commit India to any particular course of action which would align her with any particular group of powers. I am not going to be tied down to anything, and I do not commit myself anywhere to anybody. We have had some experience of commitments made during the last two hundred years.

I call upon the Indian students studying in the U.S.A. to go back to India and dedicate themselves to the building up of their country and not expect to live a life of ease. There are two main things to keep in mind—first, faith in self, secondly,

faith in the country. You will be returning to a new India. We have built up the country. But you must not return to India with the idea that you can find lucrative positions and live a life of ease in your old days. You must not allow your residence abroad to make you forget that you are still Indians.

3. Franklin D. Roosevelt¹

This is a great and solemn moment for me to visit this place where one of the greatest men of our generation lived and laboured for great causes.

For long I had hoped to pay a visit to him and it was a deep sorrow to me that I could not meet him personally. But, far as we were, not only I but innumerable countrymen of mine loved and admired him and learned much from his great example. And so, coming here today, I feel something again of the inspiration he brought to us.

And I feel honoured to meet you, Mrs Roosevelt, not only because of the great work you have done in the past as partner of that great man in his life but because of the great work you are doing now for the cause of humanity.²

1. Remarks after laying a wreath on the grave of Franklin Roosevelt at Hyde Park near New York, 16 October 1949. From *The New York Times*, 17 October 1949.
2. Eleanor Roosevelt was working for the U.N. Human Rights Commission since 1946.

4. Cooperation for Peace and Freedom¹

Mr Mayor,² ladies and gentlemen,

I have come here as a simple man, from a country of simple ways. I have come to this great and proud city of New York and you have offered me a welcome, full of pomp and ceremony. I am deeply grateful to you for that and I am even more grateful, if I may say so, for the friendly welcome that so many of you that

1. Speech at the reception given by the Mayor of New York City, 17 October 1949. From *Jawaharlal Nehru, Inside America: A Voyage of Discovery*, (New Delhi, 1950), pp. 43-45. Also from the *National Herald*, 18 October 1949.
2. William O'Dwyer.

were in the streets through which we passed gave me. You looked at me with friendly eyes and friendly faces and that conveyed more to me than even, if I may say so, the great ceremony which surrounded me. For, I have come here to this great country and to this great city which has become in the course of time the nerve centre of the world, this great country which through work and struggle has achieved the pinnacle of greatness and on which now is thrust, whether she wills it or not, a great measure of responsibility in world affairs. So, I have come here. In many ways, naturally, many of us in far parts of the world are rather dazzled by the wealth and prosperity of this country. But what has brought me here, is not merely to look out of curiosity on these great emblems of wealth and power and prosperity, but I have been attracted even more by that background of freedom which this country had and by its struggle for freedom, and its championship of the cause of freedom in other countries. Because that found an answering echo in our hearts and we felt that, however much we might differ from one another, there was a great deal in common also and so I came here. And I expected a friendly welcome, because those from your country who had visited my country had come through often enough as friends when we had met there. So, I expected a friendly welcome.

But I must confess to you that I have been rather overwhelmed by the exceedingly warm cordiality and friendliness that I have met here, everywhere, from the President of the United States, from Washington, and in New York. And now, you, Sir, Mr Mayor, have given me this great welcome in this mighty city. I can assure you, Mr Mayor, that I heartily reciprocate the sentiments to which you have just given expression. I wish with all my heart that your great country and mine may cooperate in the larger causes of peace and freedom in the world.

We are separated and we are far away, but today distance doesn't count and even though we might have our separate problems, often enough, we have to face common problems. Often enough, we have to cooperate together in their solution. We may have our different ways of looking at things. That is natural, because our backgrounds are different, our geographical position is different, and we have grown up in different ways of life. We have to understand that. We have to understand and appreciate differences sometimes in order to find out the basic similarity and unity; and therefore, I hope that it will be given to us in India and to you here, to work together for these big causes and to face the big problems of the world together.

I thank you most heartily, Mr Mayor, and you, ladies and gentlemen, for this very generous welcome that you have given me.

5. To John C. Archer¹

New York City
October 17, 1949

Dear Professor Archer,²

As you can imagine, I have been extremely busy ever since I arrived in your great country. This will explain the delay in my answering your letter of the 13th October, the contents of which I greatly appreciate.³

I have always felt that relations between peoples are made enduring, not by ties that are purely political or purely economic but by a community of interest in the deeper varieties of life. That you should have devoted your talents to promoting an understanding between your country and mine on this plane is a matter of great satisfaction to me.

I have only just begun my voyage of "discovery" of the United States of America, but the spontaneity and warmth of welcome augur well for better understanding between our two peoples.

I deeply regret that, owing to the very crowded nature of my programme, it will be impossible for us to meet before I return to India. I shall, however, be happy to receive you there when you visit us next.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. (1881-1957); Christian missionary and educator who lived in India from 1907 to 1911; Secretary, Yale Divinity School, 1920-50.
3. Archer wrote about his sentimental and friendly feelings for India and how he valued the experimental national flag given to him on his visit to India in September 1946. He offered his services to promote Indo-American friendship.

6. Ends and Means¹

Mr President,²

I am deeply grateful to this great University and to you, Sir, for the honour you have done me in inviting me today and in conferring the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. To have that signal honour conferred upon me by one who has played such a distinguished part in both war and peace adds to its value.

1. Address at the Columbia University, New York, 17 October 1949. From A.I.R. tapes and P.I.B.
2. Dwight D. Eisenhower was the President of the University.

I have come to you not so much in my capacity as Prime Minister of a great country or as a politician but rather as an humble seeker after truth and as one who has continuously struggled to find the way, not always with success, to fit action to the objectives and ideals that he has held. The process is always difficult but it becomes increasingly so in this world of conflict and passion. Politicians have to deal with day to day problems and they seek immediate remedies. Philosophers think of ultimate objectives and are apt to lose touch with the day to day world and its problems. Neither approach appears to be adequate by itself. Is it possible to combine those two approaches and function after the manner of Plato's philosopher-kings? You, Sir, who have had the experience of the role of a great man of action and also that of a philosopher as head of this University, should be able to help us to answer this question.

In this world of incessant and feverish activity, men have little time to think, much less to consider ideals and objectives. Yet, how are we to act, even in the present, unless we know which way we are going and what our objectives are? It is only in the peaceful atmosphere of a university that these basic problems can be adequately considered. It is only when the young men and women, who are in the university today and on whom the burden of life's problems will fall tomorrow, learn to have clear objectives and standards of values that there is hope for the next generation. The past generation produced some great men but as a generation it led the world repeatedly to disaster. Two World Wars are the price that has been paid for the lack of wisdom on man's part in this generation. It is a terrible price and the tragedy of it is that, even after the price has been paid, we have not purchased real peace or a cessation of conflict and an even deeper tragedy is that mankind does not profit by its experience and continues to go the same way that led previously to disaster.

We have had wars and we have had victory and we have celebrated that victory; yet, what is victory and how do we measure it? A war is fought presumably to gain certain objectives. The defeat of the enemy is not by itself an objective but rather the removal of an obstruction towards the attainment of the objective. If that objective is not attained, then that victory over the enemy brings only negative relief and indeed is not a real victory. We have seen, however, that the aim in wars is almost entirely to defeat the enemy and the other and real objective is often forgotten. The result has been that the victory attained by defeating the enemy has only been a very partial one and has not solved the real problem; if it has solved the immediate problem, it has at the same time, given rise to many other and sometimes worse problems. Therefore, it becomes necessary to have the real objective clear in our minds at all times whether in war or in peace and always to aim at achieving the objective.

I think also that there is always a close and intimate relationship between the end we aim at and the means. If the means are wrong, it will vitiate the end or divert us in a wrong direction. Means and ends are thus intimately and inextricably connected and cannot be separated. That, indeed, has been the lesson of old

taught to us by many great men in the past but unfortunately it is seldom remembered.

I am venturing to place some of these ideas before you, not because they are novel but because they have impressed themselves upon me in the course of my life which has been spent in alternating periods of incessant activity and conflict and enforced leisure. The great leader of my country, Mahatma Gandhi, under whose inspiration and sheltering care, I grew up, always laid stress on moral values and warned us never to subordinate means to ends. We were not worthy of him and yet, to the best of our ability, we tried to follow his teachings. Even the limited extent to which we could follow his teachings yielded rich results. After a generation of intense struggle with a great and powerful nation, we achieved success and, perhaps, the most significant part of it, for which credit is due to both parties, was the manner of its achievement. History hardly affords a parallel to the solution of such a conflict in a peaceful way, followed by friendly and cooperative relations. It is astonishing how rapidly bitterness and ill will between the two nations have faded away, giving place to cooperation. And we in India have decided of our own free will to continue this cooperation as an independent nation.

I would not presume to offer advice to other and more experienced nations in any way. But may I suggest for your consideration that there is some lesson in India's peaceful revolution which might be applied to the larger problems before the world today? That revolution demonstrated to us that physical force need not necessarily be the arbiter of man's destiny and that the method of waging a struggle and the way of its termination are of paramount importance. Past history shows us the important part that physical force has played. But it also shows us that no such force can ultimately ignore the moral forces of the world; and if it attempts to do so, it does so at its peril. Today, this problem faces us in all its intensity, because the weapons that physical force has at its disposal are terrible to contemplate. Must the twentieth century differ from primitive barbarism only in the destructive efficacy of the weapons that man's ingenuity has invented for man's destruction? I do believe, in accordance with my master's teachings, that there is another way to meet this situation and solve the problem that faces us.

I realize that a statesman or a man who has to deal with public affairs cannot ignore realities and cannot act in terms of abstract truth. His activity is always limited by the degree of receptivity of the truth by his fellowmen. Nevertheless, the basic truth remains and is always to be kept in view and, as far as possible, it should guide our actions. Otherwise we get caught up in a vicious circle of evil when one evil action leads to another.

India is a very old country with a great past. But she is a new country also with new urges and desires. Since August 1947, she has been in a position to pursue a foreign policy of her own. She was limited by the realities of the situation which we could not ignore or overcome. But even so, she could not forget the lesson of her great leader. She has tried to adapt, however imperfectly, theory to reality

insofar as she could. In the family of nations she was a newcomer and could not influence them greatly to begin with. But she had a certain advantage. She had great potential resources that could, no doubt, increase her power and influence. A greater advantage lay in the fact that she was not fettered by the past, by old enmities or old ties, by historic claims or traditional rivalries. Even against her former rulers there was no bitterness left. Thus India came into the family of nations with no prejudices or enmities, ready to welcome and be welcomed.

Inevitably, she had to consider her foreign policy in terms of enlightened self-interest but at the same time she brought to it a touch of her idealism. Thus, she has tried to combine idealism with national interest. The main objectives of that policy are: the pursuit of peace, not through alignment with any major power or group of powers but through an independent approach to each controversial or disputed issue, the liberation of subject peoples, the maintenance of freedom both national and individual, the elimination of racial discrimination and the elimination of want, disease and ignorance which affect the greater part of the world's population. I am asked frequently why India does not align herself with a particular nation or a group of nations and am told that because we have refrained from doing so we are sitting on the fence. The question and the comment are easily understood, because in times of crisis it is not unnatural for those who are involved in it deeply to regard calm objectivity in others as irrational, short-sighted, negative, unreal or even unmanly. But I should like to make it clear that the policy India has sought to pursue is not a negative and neutral policy. It is a positive and a vital policy that flows from our struggle for freedom and from the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. Peace is not only an absolute necessity for us in India in order to progress and develop but is also of a paramount importance to the world. How can that peace be preserved? Not by surrendering to aggression, not by compromising with evil or injustice, but also not by talking and preparing for war.

Aggression has to be met, for it endangers peace. At the same time, the lesson of the last two Wars has to be remembered and it seems to me astonishing that, in spite of that lesson, we go the same way. The very process of marshalling the world into two hostile camps precipitates the conflict which it has sought to avoid. It produces a sense of terrible fear, and that fear darkens men's minds and leads them into wrong courses. There is perhaps nothing so bad and so dangerous in life as fear. As a great President of the United States said,³ there is nothing really to fear except fear itself.

Our problem, therefore, becomes one of lessening and ultimately putting an end to this fear. That will not happen if all the world takes sides and talks of war. War becomes almost certain then.

We are a member of the family of nations and we have no wish to shirk any of the obligations and burdens of that membership. We have accepted fully the

3. On 4 March 1933 by Franklin D. Roosevelt.

obligations of membership in the United Nations and intend to abide by them. We wish to make our full contribution to the common store and to render our full measure of service. But that can only be done effectively in our own way and of our own choice. We believe passionately in the democratic method and we seek to enlarge the bounds of democracy on both the political and the economic plane, for no democracy can exist for long in the midst of want and poverty and inequality. Our immediate needs are economic betterment and raising the standards of our people. The more we succeed in this, the more we can serve the cause of peace in the world. We are fully aware of our weaknesses and failings and claim no superior virtue; but we do not wish to forfeit the advantage that our present detachment gives us. We believe that the maintenance of that detachment is not only in our interest but also in the interest of world peace and freedom. That detachment is neither isolationism nor indifference nor neutrality when peace or freedom is threatened. When man's liberty or peace is in danger we cannot and shall not be neutral; neutrality then would be a betrayal of what we have fought for and stand for.

If we seek to ensure peace we must attack the root causes of war and not merely the symptoms. What are the underlying causes of war in the modern world?

One of the basic causes is the domination of one country by another or an attempt to dominate. Large parts of Asia were ruled till recently by foreign and chiefly European Powers. We ourselves were part of the British Empire, as were also Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma. France, Holland and Portugal still have territories over which they rule. But the rising tide of nationalism and the love of independence have submerged most of the Western Empires in Asia. In Indonesia, I hope that there will soon be an independent sovereign State.⁴ We hope also that French Indo-China will achieve freedom and peace before long under a government of its own choice. Much of Africa, however, is subject to foreign powers, some of whom still attempt to enlarge their dominions. It is clear that all remaining vestiges of imperialism and colonialism will have to disappear.

Secondly, there is the problem of racial relations. The progress of some races in knowledge or in invention, their success in war and conquest, has tempted them to believe that they are racially superior and has led them to treat other nations with contempt. A recent example of this was the horrible attempt, so largely successful, to exterminate the Jews. In Asia and Africa, racial superiority has been most widely and most insolently exhibited. It is forgotten that nearly all the great religions of mankind arose in the East and that wonderful civilizations grew up there when Europe and America were still unknown to history. The West has too often despised the Asian and the African and still, in many places, denies them not only equality of rights but even common humanity and kindliness. This is one of the great danger points of our modern world; and now that Asia and Africa

4. The Netherlands transferred full sovereignty to Indonesia on 27 December 1949.

are shaking off their torpor and arousing themselves, out of this evil may come a conflagration of which no man can see the range of consequences. One of your greatest men said that this country cannot exist half slave and half free.⁵ The world cannot for long maintain peace if half of it is enslaved and despised. The problem is not always simple nor can it be solved by a resolution or a decree. Unless there is a firm and sincere determination to solve it, there will be no peace.

The third reason for war and revolution is the misery and want of millions of people in many countries and, in particular, in Asia and Africa. In the West, though the war has brought much misery and many difficulties, the common man generally lives in some measure of comfort—he has food, clothing and shelter to some extent. The basic problem of the East, therefore, is to obtain these necessities of life. If they are lacking, then there is the apathy of despair or the destructive rage of the revolutionary. Political subjection, racial inequality, economic inequality and misery, these are the evils that we have to remove if we would ensure peace. If we can offer no remedy, then other cries and slogans will make an appeal to the minds of the people.

Many of the countries of Asia have entered the family of nations; others we hope will soon find a place in this circle. We have the same hopes for the countries of Africa. This process should proceed rapidly and America and Europe should use their great influence and power to facilitate it. We see before us vast changes taking place, not only in the political and economic spheres but even more so in the minds of men. Asia is becoming dynamic again and is passionately eager to progress and raise the economic standards of her vast masses. This awakening of a giant Continent is of the greatest importance to the future of mankind and requires imaginative statesmanship of a high order. The problems of this awakening will not be solved by looking at it with fear or in a spirit of isolationism by any of us. It requires a friendly and understanding approach, clear objectives and a common effort to realize them. The colossal expenditure of energy and resources on armaments is an outstanding feature of many national budgets today but that does not solve the problem of world peace. Perhaps, even a fraction of that outlay, utilized in other ways and for other purposes, will provide a more enduring basis for peace and happiness.

That is India's view, offered in all friendliness to all thinking men and women, to all persons of goodwill in the name of our common humanity. That view is not based on wishful thinking but on a deep consideration of the problems that afflict us all, and on its merits I venture to place it before you.

I should like to add a few words, Sir. I have been deeply moved by what you have said, by what was said about me in the previous citation and I have felt very humble as I listened to these remarks.

5. Abraham Lincoln on 16 June 1858.

The scene that I see here, Sir, under your distinguished presidentship will long remain in my mind. Indeed, I do not think that I shall ever forget it. I shall remember the scene and above all I shall remember the great courtesy, kindness and generosity with which you have received me here and made me one of yourselves.

I shall prize the honour of being a fellow member with you of this great University, above all the other honours that have come my way. I shall prize it, not only in my individual capacity as I believe that this honour was, perhaps, meant for more than an individual and that, for the moment, you have treated me not as an individual but also as a symbol for and a representative of India. And here, Sir, forgetting myself for a moment, I thank you on behalf of my country and my people.

7. Ferment in Asia¹

Mr Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,

It has been said that some are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon them. I belong to the last named category. I have been here in the United States for just a week today, and I have gathered a vast number of impressions and sensations, and I feel after this week, as if I have been here for months and months. Some impressions stand out, others are a kind of a blur which I shall have to sort out later on. But the one impression that stands out is of the extreme cordiality of the welcome that you and others have given me here; of the hospitality and friendliness that I have found everywhere, and I should like to express my deep gratitude for it.

Now in the course of this week, I have had an opportunity to speak on various occasions, and no doubt you have read or heard what I said. Even previously, prior to my coming here, I spoke frequently and I have met some of you at least, in India. So you know generally what I speak about, what I feel about, and I do not know whether it will serve any particular purpose. I may repeat much that I have said here, or rather you put me some questions. That would help me to speak about a particular subject, rather than to ramble vaguely about many subjects, which is what always happens when one speaks vaguely. But one or two things I might mention to you.

1. Speech at the Overseas Press Club, New York, 18 October 1949. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L. The speech was supposed to be off the record but was made public on Nehru's remark, "how can one be off the record before 500 persons." It was followed by questions.

You referred to me as the leader of India and a person who might influence events. That is true, in a sense, but it is true not so much in the individual sense, but in another sense. Just as the United States, almost against its wishes or desire, has been thrust into a position of extreme importance in world affairs and whether it wishes it or not, it has to assume that leadership in world affairs. So in a different, entirely different context of course, India is inevitably drawn into the vortex of Asian and world affairs. Our own desire was, and is, to be left in peace to develop ourselves. We have a hundred problems to face. We want to get going about them, and we do not wish to interfere with anybody, or to be interfered with. At the same time, we have a desire to cooperate with everybody and to concentrate on the development of our own country.

When you think of India or Asia, please remember always that the primary problems of Asia and India are problems that relate to the basic necessities of life—food, clothing and housing, etc. When you come here, even more so to the United States, there are many problems in Europe. There has been a great deal of destruction, a great deal of human suffering. Nevertheless, the primary problems are not so dominant as in Asia. So our outlook, not only in our domestic affairs, but our world outlook, is governed by that primary factor. It is an important thing to remember. Because once you satisfy those primary cravings of human beings, then you have a little leisure to look around and play about on the chess-board of world politics. Other desires arise then which sometimes may be described as power politics and the like. But those who want those primary cravings satisfied have no desire for anything else for the time being.

So that is our general outlook, but whatever our general outlook may be, the fact remains that by virtue of certain partly historical factors, but much more so for geographical factors—being where we are in the centre of Southern Asia, we just cannot escape various responsibilities which arise from that geography. Geography is a very important thing in politics, rather in human affairs. It not only governs our life in many ways but also our contacts. And so, one thing has happened, which is worth remembering, and that is, India in her long history has never been isolated. She had the closest contacts in olden times with all parts of Asia, with Western Asia, that is, Iran in the Arab world and the Greek and Roman worlds. Even before that, with South East Asia we have exceedingly close contacts and those of you who may have been to South East Asia may know that it is full of the remains of Indian culture, its civilization and architecture, and even literature. With China, our contacts were not quite so intimate in recent centuries, but previous to that they were very intimate and as you know, the principal religion in China originated in India. At one time, vast numbers of Indians went to China and in one town alone, about ten thousand Indians had gone. They would have gone from India in connection probably with some missionary enterprise of Buddhism. So we have these very close contacts which continued till the British came to India. When the British came, partly deliberately, partly owing to other reasons and causes,

our contacts with the rest of Asia were cut off. This is due to the development of the sea-ways too. Previously it was largely land routes. Now our main contact with the outside world was through England and Europe—chiefly England. And we may have been in conflict with England all the time, or most of the time. But the fact remains that we saw the world through England, and if you like, through English spectacles. It was English language and literature, the newspapers, almost everything that influenced us, and we were cut off from Asia, so much that if I wanted to meet some Chinese or Japanese or Siamese or Arab or Persian, well, I was more likely to meet him in London or Paris or Berlin, or anywhere else.

Now some changes came over that, in the last few years. Partly these have come over in the last few years because of the development of air travel, but also we went overland. The change has come about because of political developments and certainly India, and other countries around India, looked to each other much more than they have done, during the past hundred and fifty years. Old memories revive, and inevitably we think of each other's problems and there is the tendency for us to cooperate. It may not take very visible or tangible shape, but it is inevitable and this tendency, of course, we have every intention of encouraging.

Now, that is a very big thing to remember about India and Asia, which is a huge continent. When we talk about Asian unity or Asian cooperation, it is something not particularly easy to think in precise terms. That is to say, Asia is too big and rather different in its various regions. The main thing that brought together the various countries of Asia in the past century was a common subjection to colonial rule by European countries. But essentially there is a vast difference between Western Asia and the Far East or South East Asia. Therefore, normally speaking, you think of the regions in Asia, the Far East or South East Asia or the Middle East, etc. but whichever region you may think of, India comes into the picture, being centrally situated. If you think of South East Asia, obviously, India comes in. If you think of the Far East, India comes in and if you think of the Middle East, India is there. Whether you think in economic terms or of trade, commerce, or in terms of war and defence, India always comes into the picture. Therefore, geography as well as past history and the rest of it have thrust certain responsibilities upon us in India.

I can assure you that nobody in India has the slightest desire for any flamboyant leadership of Asia or, if you think like that, some individuals may in their folly think so, but as a whole we do not think in those terms. Chiefly because we are just too concerned with our own affairs all the time now to think of something which may affect us far away. But we cannot escape that geographical and historical position that we have got, though it is a burden on us. It also is something that may sometimes be satisfying our vanity, but it is a burden, we would rather escape, but we cannot escape. The second thing I may point out to you is the fact, that Asia, largely because it has experienced the progressive termination of colonial rule, is, in a state, as you know very well, of extraordinary upheaval and ferment. The upheavals need not necessarily take place as revolutionary activities.

But the fact is, that it is a rapidly changing continent, and the change is coming over in men's minds. Ultimately, of course, it takes shape elsewhere too. The primary problem of Asia would probably be the agrarian problem, as everywhere, where the country is undeveloped or not fully developed. That is a major problem. You may look upon it from any point of view, you may think of China, as it is today under more or less Communist rule, the true and the basic problem of China was and is the agrarian problem. The future of China and other developments there depend on the measures taken to solve the agrarian problem.

Same might apply to any other country. It applies to India with a difference. In India something has been done in the past few years in regard to the agrarian problem, and the semi-feudal conditions that existed there, and very far-reaching changes are being made now. We are putting an end to this big landlord system, zamindari system etc, which has been a part of our programme. We are doing it peacefully and more or less cooperatively with compensation etc. This business of compensating landowners is rather a burden, but anyhow it would avoid conflict and probably is cheaper in the end. Anyhow that has been our policy, and so one of the major upsetting features in Asia has been controlled in India because of this policy that we have pursued in regard to land.

The first thing to remember is that, still in Asia, nationalism is the primary urge apart from the urge of hunger and starvation etc. It is nationalism that is the most important feeling there. Nationalism after political freedom tends to fade away to some extent and it is economic problems that come up. Where nationalism is still strong because the memory of colonialism is near, where actual freedom that is political freedom has not been obtained, nationalism remains still the strongest feeling. Such a situation affects the other countries also. Take, for instance, Indonesia. There has been a struggle against the Dutch which has powerfully affected the whole of Asia.

You might remember that we had a conference on Indonesia last January in Delhi.² I confess to you that when I invited various countries to that conference, I had no idea of the enthusiasm with which that invitation would be accepted. It was done rather in a hurry because the Dutch had just started what they called their Police Action—the Second Police Action. We gave just ten or twelve days for this meeting in Delhi and every country was represented there from Asia except Japan. And Japan, not because it did not want to come, but because there were difficulties about their coming. So, it was astonishing that not only Asia but Australia also was represented there, and to some extent, New Zealand.

Why was this so? Because somehow or other, not only was there a great deal of sympathy with Indonesians in their fight for freedom, but every country in Asia immediately remembered its own recent colonial past. Secondly, it felt that if

a European imperialist power is still there, there is a danger to Asia, there is a danger to us and if imperialism has not quite gone away, that is an evil thing.

If France is functioning in Indo-China, quite apart from other matters, it perturbed people in Asia, to find that an old colonialism was still functioning. So that I do not think that you can have, what might be called, informal development in Asia till these traces of colonialism go. I have no doubt that no colonial power, whatever it may be, can ever function in Asia with profit. It may, by military means, carry on for a few more years but it cannot function there in peace or with profit. There will be trouble all the time. If that is so, then it seems to me to be the height of folly for any power to try to continue functioning in that way, because it simply means adding to its own burden, creating ill will and making a peaceful or compromise solution more difficult.

In the case of India, in spite of our long conflict with the British, the way out was found. I think, certainly a great deal of credit goes to us. By us, I mean, the whole trend of our movement under Mahatma Gandhi was such that it was always prepared for a kind of peaceful settlement which tried to avoid violence. But I should like to add, that certainly credit is also due to the present British Government, which approached this question at least, in a more friendly and a wiser way. And it is astonishing, how this settlement has resulted in a rapid elimination of the bitterness and ill will that prevailed previously. I hardly think you will find another example of that kind. For that too, I suppose credit is due to both parties. In spite of the fact that there is no ill will; if the slightest thing happens which arouses suspicion of people immediately, old thoughts and suspicions arise in people's minds. They recall before the Indian people, the part played by Mr Churchill. He had said something which was found highly irritating.

So you have to deal with this state of Asia, which is emerging from its colonial status. It is highly sensitive. It may not be strong enough; it may make a mess of things here and there; but it realizes it is strong enough to make it frightfully difficult for anyone to function. And even if it cannot function satisfactorily somewhere, it can make the others also not to function satisfactorily. All these primarily nationalistic and other urges come in the way. Now look at it, in the perspective of history. It is a very big thing that is happening in Asia. I do not know, I am not a prophet to say what will happen in the near future or in the distant future. But one thing is perfectly clear to me that after these painful years of transition through which we are going through, Asia is going to play a fairly important part in world affairs. It must, I may say, from the mere extent of it, and in terms of sheer numbers involved, and it is bound to play that part.

Now you, ladies and gentlemen, who are concerned with the press etc., are naturally concerned a great deal with current events. You analyse them, you specialize in them, you know a lot about a particular problem. But I sometimes wonder, if that specialization does not come in the way of a wider outlook in the perspective of things that are happening in the world today. There is a big problem,

a general problem, that is so much knowledge has been gathered together, there is so much to learn, that it is becoming impossible for a person to know all of it. Persons, specialists—they must be efficient in their particular branch of knowledge and the more they specialize in one thing and the more they know about it, the less they think they know about anything else. The result is that a wide human outlook and understanding of events in perspective, which may in brief be called a part of wisdom, somehow become less and less in the world, while highly specialized knowledge grows more and more. Possibly many of our difficulties in the world are due to that fact. Now that applies to the understanding of current events. Do you understand it in the confines of its narrow significance or do you see it as a part of the historic process in perspective? Unless you do the latter, it is a little difficult to understand the first; it is as if you saw a small part of a picture only and not the whole.

Well, what I am trying to emphasize is that what is happening in Asia is of tremendous significance to the world. I do not mean to belittle the problems of Europe or of the other parts of the world. But the fact is, Asia is in a growing, dynamic stage. It will make many mistakes no doubt, but it will grow because there is vitality behind it. Take India, we have made innumerable mistakes but I am quite convinced that India is a country full of vitality today. Some of that vitality goes wrong occasionally, and does harm. Nevertheless, it is better to have vitality and go wrong occasionally than not to have it. So, we people talk and think in terms of immediate problems, immediate needs, immediate pacts, immediate this, immediate that. They may be necessary or they may not be necessary, but in order to understand them whether they are necessary or not, I suggest that you think of them from this longer perspective of history, of what is happening all around, and from the perspective also of vast masses being on the move.

You only hear about these developments when there is a riot or revolution. But the fact is that the movement takes place in the minds of people long before that happens, and it has taken place in the minds of millions and millions of Asia and that is a fact you cannot get over and that is a fact you cannot deal with by military means. Except occasionally, except temporarily, it is a fact which has to be accepted, admitted, and dealt with accordingly.

Question: How can sympathetic America assist India?

Jawaharlal Nehru: India's primary need today is food. In a couple of years, we shall be self-sufficient regarding food as we have in hand big multi-purpose schemes, some of them even bigger than the Tennessee Valley project. But our immediate need is tractors, machinery and fertilisers.

We want food at prices we can afford. The price structure is governed essentially by the price of wheat. We would like to have some of the surplus wheat of America.

India particularly wants to create a stockpile of wheat so that it can keep down prices in India.

Secondly, we want machinery and technical assistance. We have technical skill up to a certain degree in India, but what we want is the knowhow of the type that America can afford to give us in carrying out our huge development projects. We need more American professors in our universities.

India's difficulties have been accentuated by devaluation. India is compelled to buy her machinery in the soft currency area, but she would like to obtain some of her supplies from America. This is one aspect of the question, where Americans can help India.

Thirdly, we had sent a large number of students to America, but recently due to various reasons their number had to be reduced. India is, however, employing high-grade technical experts to help in running her laboratories and scientific plants. I would like to invite you and other Americans to visit India and have a look around. Your coming, incidentally, would help the dollar shortage.

Q: Does India intend to recognize Communist China?

JN: In common with other Governments we cannot ignore realities. The Indian Ambassador at Nanking had been recalled to New Delhi to confer on the question of recognizing Communist China. The basic problem of China is agrarian and the solution of that problem will better the course of developments in China. The same applies to India. We are putting an end to the big landlord system gradually. Thus one of the major upsetting features of Asia has been controlled in India because of the Government's policy of breaking up huge landlord estates and farming areas and distributing these among the individual farmers.

Q: Do you fear economic domination by foreign capital?

JN: The Government do not, but it is a matter which seriously excites the people of India, because of their experience under the British. I think there is room for American capital investment in India to mutual advantage. I realize that capital is reluctant to enter any country without certain assurances of profit and right to convert profit into dollars. The Government of India is ready to give that guarantee although there might be temporary difficulties due to dollar shortage.

Q: What would be India's role in Asiatic and world politics?

JN: India cannot ignore certain responsibilities which have been thrust upon her. India's pivotal position between Western Asia, South East Asia and the Far East made it the crossroads of that part of the world. India is the central point of the Asian picture and countries of that area are cooperating more and more in various

ways. Trade and defence are bound to be common bonds amongst nations in that area.

India's role of leadership may not be so welcome to others although it may satisfy our vanity. But it is something which we cannot escape. We cannot escape the various responsibilities that arise out of our geography and history. This is a very important thing. It governs all our actions throughout our long history.

India had freed herself by her own efforts. As the result of her freedom and her geographical position in relation to the affected countries, India feels that certain responsibilities have devolved upon her. The discussions at the Indonesian Conference have had their repercussions on all Asian countries. The struggle for independence in the Asian countries has made it quite clear to the colonial powers that they cannot rule those countries with force and without profit to themselves.

Our immediate problems cannot be understood unless you think of them from the large perspective of history. Mr Churchill's statements to the effect that the Labour Government was guilty of error and stupidity in granting India's independence are bound to be irritating and cause an upsurge of feeling in Asia against the West.

What is happening in Asia is of tremendous significance and the western world had better make no mistake about it.

8. To Dwight D. Eisenhower¹

New York
October 18, 1949

My dear General,

I must thank you again for the warmth of the welcome which you and your University extended to me yesterday. I was deeply moved and I shall long treasure the memory. It was a very great pleasure to meet you and find that you were an even greater man than I had imagined. I hope that we shall have an opportunity of meeting again.

I am taking the liberty of sending you some of my books published here. You are not supposed to read them all.

With all good wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Dwight D. Eisenhower Library Papers, Abilene, Kansas, U.S.A.

9. The United Nations as a Bridge¹

Mr President,²

I am grateful to you for your kind words of welcome. Last year about this time I visited a session of the General Assembly in Paris, but today for the first time I come to this place, Lake Success, which has become famous all over the world as the headquarters of this great organization.

The world is full of problems today and very difficult problems, and people often criticize the United Nations because they do not solve all the problems of the world suddenly, and yet the fact remains that the mere existence of the United Nations is itself not only a very great thing in the present but the only real hope for the future. It may make mistakes, as any human organization does, but without the United Nations today it is little difficult to imagine how our world would function at all. The destructive forces would come into play and all manner of conflicts that are latent today might become actual. Therefore the United Nations is playing a highly significant and important part in this tremendous age of transition. It is a kind of a bridge from the past and the present to the future to be. It is most important that not only we should realize it, the importance of it, but also we should all work for its strengthening so that its work may prosper. It is important that people all over the world should pay greater attention to its work, should keep in touch with it, and should influence it too in the right direction. Therefore, my coming here today is a matter of great significance to me because in a sense this centre of world activity is a place of great importance and significance. I thank you again, Mr President, for your kind words of welcome.

1. Speech at the General Assembly of the United Nations, Lake Success, 19 October 1949. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L.
2. Carlos P. Romulo was President of the General Assembly.

10. The Responsibility of the United Nations¹

Mr Chairman,² Mr President,³ members of the Trusteeship Committee,⁴
I must apologize to you for coming in here rather suddenly and disturbing your

1. Speech at a session of the U.N. Trusteeship Committee, 19 October 1949. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L.
2. Harmod Mannong of Denmark.
3. Carlos P. Romulo.
4. Trygve Lie and Andrew Cordier were also the Secretary-General and Assistant Secretary-General of the U.N. respectively.

work. I came here as a visitor to see the working of this great organization, and the first of the Committees I have come here to see is this Trusteeship Committee,⁵ because the work you are engaged in is nearest to my heart and I think it to be of supreme importance in the world today.

This is not the occasion for me to say much or to take up your time but I would like to assure you that we in India attach the greatest importance to the work of the United Nations and of its various committees. That work is often criticized because it does not yield immediate results. Whether that criticism may sometimes be justified or not, it is fundamentally a wrong criticism because many very difficult problems affect the world and it is rather odd to expect that this United Nations will act with a magic wand suddenly putting an end to all the problems.

The mere fact that it has gone on labouring and easing the world situation often enough and gradually solving some problems shows that it is working in the right direction, and that it is something that we must encourage if we are to see this world progress towards some kind of cooperation and world unity. It is, as I just said elsewhere, a kind of bridge from the past and the conflicts of today to the hope for the future.

And on you, ladies and gentlemen, who come here from various parts of the world, lies a tremendous responsibility. The responsibility lies on you and on us and on all these countries to see that that bridge is a firm one and does lead to that future for which we hope for and live for. Because if no such bridge is present, I do not quite know what the state of the world might be. Therefore, I look forward, and my country looks forward to the work of the United Nations and its various other organs with the greatest hope. As in the past we hope to take the fullest part in sharing the burdens and rejoicing the achievements of this great organization.

I thank you Mr Chairman for your kind words of welcome.

5. The Trusteeship Council, formally constituted in 1946, was made responsible for the areas placed under the administrative control of a member-country by the United Nations, which took over the mandatory territories of the League of Nations.

11. Purpose of the Visit¹

Question: Which ideology will triumph—capitalism or communism?

Jawaharlal Nehru: This conflict between the two different ideologies of East and West cannot continue for long. The ideologies—capitalism and communism—may

1. Speech at a reception given by the United Nations Correspondents Association, Lake Success, 19 October 1949. From the *National Herald* and *The Hindu*, 20 October 1949.

continue for one or two generations, but cannot continue indefinitely side by side and sooner or later one or the other must triumph.

Which form of society ultimately triumphs, depends on the one which can deliver the goods. And that means not only material goods but also those spiritual factors which are designed for the betterment of human life.

Q: Has any country which had taken part in the Delhi Conference done anything more on the question of Indonesia or Indo-China?

JN: It is a fact that no European or other power can today expect to exercise colonial rule over territories in Asia. If they seek to hold on to colonies this will only lead to conflict. The Conference on Indonesia had one task for which it had been called. The participants had exerted considerable moral pressure on the parties.

Q: What help do you expect from the United States? Do you think your visit will help?

JN: My visit to America included three main considerations:

- (1) India required that immediate priority be given to food supply, particularly wheat.
- (2) Technical help was required for the major schemes of development being prepared by the Indian Government.
- (3) We want financial investments on terms to be agreed upon.

The recent devaluation of currencies has been a hard blow to India's economic relations with the United States. Until that happened, India had made plans to purchase goods in America and to send students to be trained in technical work. Now we may be obliged to seek these facilities elsewhere. We will have to buy from America only those things which cannot be obtained elsewhere.

Q: Would you like to comment on the state of the liberties in India?

JN: The end of British rule and Partition had created enormous social problems for the Government of India. It released certain reactionary forces which had to be removed. Economic troubles also caused upheavals. The main consideration that the Indian Government had was that it will not allow the unity of India to be broken up.

We were near rebellion. That is why we had to take action against violence or against anyone who preached violence.

Q: Is there any special event which has brought you to the United States?

JN: No special event has brought me to the United States. People seem to imagine that something has happened in the last three or four months, that has suddenly

brought me here. It has always been a very old wish of mine to come to the United States. I felt that it is highly desirable for me to know America better. I had met many American newspaper correspondents and individuals who had urged me to come here.

All my life, I have spent more or less in the market place, rather in the open, and have found that it is quite impossible to deal privately with large numbers of people.

I have been warned about the terrible American newspapermen, but since my arrival in the United States I have found them extraordinarily kind and understanding. I have come to America essentially on a visit of goodwill.

It requires receptiveness of mind to understand a country, and even those who called themselves observers did not always have this receptivity. Each country has a historical and cultural background. Newspapermen have to work at high pressure because of the modern feverish world and it is not always possible for them to go deeper down.

I like this world in its variety, provided it does not lead to conflict. Unity in the world is essential, I think. You may call it one world if you like but I do hope that the trend towards unity will not be a regimented unity.

We are living through a tremendous period of transition. This transition brings turmoil in men's minds all over the world. Most of the people do not know what to do or not to do. A great deal of men's burden would be lightened if they read about the difficulties which confronted the world say a thousand or five thousand years ago. It is always better to have a long perspective. It helps to lighten the burden of the present by studying the past.

12. Faith in the U.N.¹

The world is full of problems today, and very difficult problems, and people often criticize the United Nations because it does not solve all the problems of the world suddenly, and yet the fact remains that the mere existence of the United Nations is itself not only a very great thing in the present, but the only real hope for the future.

It may make mistakes as any human organization does but, without the United Nations today, it is a little difficult to imagine how our world would function at all.

The destructive forces that come up today and all the manner of conflicts that are legend might become actual. Therefore, the United Nations is playing a highly significant and important part in this tremendous age of transition.

1. Broadcast over the U.N. Radio, 19 October 1949, Lake Success. From *The Hindustan Times*, 21 October 1949.

It is a kind of bridge from the past and the present to the future, and it is most important that we realize the importance of it.

It is important that people all over the world should pay greater attention to its work, should keep in touch with it, and should influence it too in the right direction.

13. In an Atmosphere of Friendliness¹

I have been in the United States for exactly eight days to date. It is not a very long time. Yet I was surprised when I suddenly realized that it was only eight days ago that I had come, because during these eight days so much of significance has happened in my life. Experience and emotion have so piled up, one on top of the other, that I have a feeling that I have been here for a long time. Sometimes, when there are no new experiences, time seems to stop. I have had this experience of time stopping for months and years in my life—a curious experience. And sometimes time seems to race on; rather, one feels as if it were racing on, although very little of it may have passed. So, during these eight days, much has happened to me which has not only powerfully affected me in the present but has left upon me its deep imprint, which I shall carry with me and remember for a very long time.

During these days, I have repeatedly had occasions to speak in public and my programme has often been a very full one. I knew that I was to come to this great banquet tonight. And I knew also that I had to speak here but I must apologize to you because I was expected, I am told, to prepare a written address, which I have not done. I have not done it, partly because I dislike very much this process of writing down speeches in advance, partly because I was not used to doing it in India and partly because, if I may confess it with all humility, I just forgot about it.

But, in the main, may I say that the real reason at the back of my mind, the sub-conscious reason, was a growing feeling of confidence, of being among my friends here in this country. I began to feel more and more at home and so I thought I could perhaps take the liberty of having a friendly talk with you rather than deliver a formal address.

If I may indulge in a bit of personal history, I might inform you that I began what is called public speaking at a fairly late stage in my life. I was at college

1. Address to a meeting jointly organized by the East and West Association, the Foreign Policy Association, the India League of America and the Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 19 October 1949. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L. Also available in P.I.B.

in Cambridge. I joined a well-known debating society. But I never had the courage to speak there, in spite of the fact that they actually had a system of fining the members who did not speak every term. I paid the fine willingly.

It was many years later, through the force of circumstances rather than anything else, that I started addressing public audiences. I began with the peasantry of my province. They didn't think and I didn't think that I was delivering a public speech at all. But I used to meet them and talk to them and those talks gradually attracted more and more people. Yet they remained just personal talks. I didn't feel shy with them because they were very simple folk. And so, very slowly I got over this inhibition, this difficulty of speaking in public. But I retained that manner of speaking, that is to say, of speaking to friends as if we were having a quiet talk together, even when the audiences grew and became colossal in number. So, if I speak to you in a somewhat rambling fashion, you will forgive me. I need hardly say how overwhelmed I am by the magnificence of this occasion and by the very distinguished gathering that is present here. In spite of all that has been said about me by previous speakers, I am not a very aggressive person in public gatherings and I feel at times a little afraid of them.

I am very grateful to the four host organizations for organizing this function. And may I say in this connection that I am grateful not only for this occasion but even more so to all the Americans who, in the course of the past many years, expressed their goodwill; and not only expressed their goodwill but gave us their active support in the struggle for our freedom. I need not say anything to my own fellow countrymen here, because it was expected of them to give of their best. But it was very heartening to us in those days of struggle and conflict and ups and downs to hear the voices of goodwill and friendship and sympathy from America. I remember that on the last occasion, the beginning of my last term of imprisonment, a number of very distinguished citizens in America issued a manifesto—I think it was addressed to the President of the United States—appealing to him to take some action in regard to India.² May I also say that all of us in India know very well, although it might not be so known in public, what great interest President Roosevelt had in our country's freedom and how he exercised his great influence to that end.

I have come to America for many reasons, personal and public. I have come after a long time of waiting because I have always wanted to come here ever since I was a student in England. But events took a different course soon after I went back to India and my travels and journeys were very limited. In the last two or three years, other limiting factors have come in and I could not come here earlier.

2. A manifesto signed on 22 September 1942 by fifty-five prominent Americans led by Pearl S. Buck urged President Roosevelt and Chiang Kai-shek to mediate in the conflict between the British Government and the Indian National Congress so as to "speedily bring India into the ranks of allies by beginning now the programme of her independence."

Originally, perhaps, it was curiosity that impelled me to come here. But in later years, more and more the thought came to me that it was necessary, it was desirable and perhaps, inevitable that India and the United States should know each other more and cooperate more with each other. In a sense that cooperation in the past could hardly be called cooperation with a great and powerful nation. But since we have become independent, that idea took more definite shape. Though even now we may be a big country and we may have great potential resources, as we do have, nevertheless, we are new to these fields of international activity and in the terms that the world measures nations today, we are weak. We have no atom bomb at our disposal. We have no great forces at our command, military or other. Economically we are weak. And these are the standards—the yard measures—of a nation's importance today. We are strong in some ways—at least potentially so. Any person who can look ahead a little can say with a measure of confidence that India is bound to make good even in those material ways which count for so much in the world. All the factors are present there and the whole course of present-day history points to that. Anyhow, the time has come when we can look more towards the United States with some feeling of confidence which is necessary before we can really develop cooperative relations.

These relations cannot exist when one country is very weak and the other very strong. We are weak in some ways but there is one lesson we learned many years ago from our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, in the days when we were still weaker. Our people, though they were unarmed, with no wealth or other outward symbol of strength at their command, faced a powerful and wealthy empire which had been in India for a large number of years.

It was a strange contest. I look back to that period just thirty years ago when Mahatma Gandhi, in a sense, burst upon the Indian scene. He was, of course, known before and loved and admired for his work in South Africa but he had not functioned on an all-India plane. He suddenly started functioning. And there was some magic about the message he gave. It was very simple. His analysis of the situation in India was essentially that we were suffering terribly from fear, especially the masses in India and even others. So he just went about telling us, 'Do not be afraid. Why are you afraid?' What can happen to you. Of course, when he talked in these terms he was thinking of the political fear that we had. If we did something that the British Government did not like, well, we would be punished. We would be sent to prison. We might be shot. And so a general sense of fear pervaded the place. It would take hold of the poorest peasant, the lowliest of all our people, whose produce or nearly all of it went to his landlord and who hardly had enough food to eat. This poor man was kicked and cuffed by everybody—by his landlord, by his landlord's agent, by the police and by the moneylender. Everybody with whom he came into contact just pushed him about and he simply accepted it as something that fate had ordained for him. Whether there was something in the atmosphere or some magic in Gandhi's voice, I do not know. Anyhow, this very simple thing,

'Do not be afraid', when he put it that way, it caught on and we realized, with a tremendous lifting of hearts, that there was nothing to fear. Even the poor peasant straightened his back a little and began to look people in the face and there was a ray of hope in his sunken eyes. In effect, a magical change had come over India.

There were many ups and downs. This teaching of his—'Do not be afraid' kept us going and we found really that there was nothing to fear. Fear was something we had created. We went to prison in tens and hundreds of thousands. It was uncomfortable and many people endured a great deal of pain and suffering. But we found that it all depended on the way one looked at it. Obviously, if we had gone to prison for some high misdemeanour with disgrace attached to it, it would have been terribly painful. But because we felt we were serving a great cause, it became not a thing to be afraid of but something to be coveted. I put this to you, because, in the world today, we are again—compared with the great nations—weak. If there is an armed conflict, we are weak. As I said, we have no atom bomb. But if I may say so, we rejoice in not having the atom bomb.

So while innumerable difficulties have surrounded us and sometimes tried to overwhelm us, we have never lost heart. The one thing that has really been painful and has hurt us has been our own inner weakness. We have lost all fear of external aggression. Not that we are impractical or idealistic though it is good to be idealistic and we are that to some extent. After the last thirty years' experience, however, we shall not be afraid of external aggression, unless, of course, we ourselves go to pieces. That would be our fault. What has pained us is our own inner weakness, because that has sometimes made us doubt ourselves.

I mention this because elsewhere I have talked about this fear complex that governs the world today. It is a curious thing. It is like the fear of a man who possesses a great deal of property and is continually afraid of losing it or of somebody stealing it; he lives in a state of constant apprehension. Possibly, he might lead a more comfortable and happier life if he didn't have it and didn't have this continuous apprehension. However that may be, there is this fear complex all over. I do not say there is no justification for it. There is justification for it in this world. We have seen terrible things happen and terrible things may happen again. Any person in a place of responsibility cannot become totally irresponsible about the future. He has to guard against it. He must take steps to prevent the terrible things from happening. That is true. Nevertheless, this approach of fear is, from every point of view, the worst of all approaches. It is bad for one's self; it is bad for others. Some of you may be acquainted with wild animals. I have had some little acquaintance—not very much—and have found and am convinced that no animal attacks man, except very rarely, unless the animal is afraid. Sometimes, the fear in the man transfers itself psychologically to the animal. Man becomes afraid of the animal and then the animal becomes afraid of him and, between them, they make a mess of it. I know numerous cases of individuals who go into the jungles without a gun or arms and are never attacked by any animal, because they

are not afraid of any animal and the wild animals come and they look them in the face and the animals pass by. Well, it is perhaps not fair to compare wild animals with men. Nevertheless, the analogy, I think, holds when one party gets afraid. Once a nation gets afraid, then the other nations get afraid and so the fear rises to a crescendo and leads to deplorable consequences. I do not know if it is possible to divert this emotion to other channels. While one must take all steps to prevent an evil happening, one must also shed fear and act with a great deal of confidence, because that confidence itself brings confidence to the others who are afraid. And so we can gradually change the atmosphere in which we live.

India has been, for the last two years or more, an independent country. In another three months or so, we will formally inaugurate our Republic. That will be no addition to our freedom, except in the sense that it will be a confirmation of it and certain forms which exist now will go. Our purpose and our desire in the present is to be left in peace to work out our problems, not in isolation certainly, but in cooperation with others. We have got enormous problems. Every country has problems, of course. But the fact of 150 years of foreign rule, which resulted possibly in some good here and there, certainly resulted in stunting and arresting the growth of the people and of the country in many ways. Because it arrested the growth of the country, it arrested the solution of many problems that normally would have solved themselves—either by conflict or in peace; problems are solved and always a new equilibrium is established somehow or other. But because there was an overriding authority—that is, the British power in India—it prevented that natural equilibrium from being established in India from time to time and many things continued in India, which were completely out of date and out of place and which had no strength behind them, no roots in them. They were kept up, propped up, by an external authority. And so, problems accumulated—social, economic, and political. As soon as the British left India, suddenly we had to face all those problems. We knew, of course, that we would have to face them. It was a big change. It was brought about cooperatively and peacefully and rather remarkably, for which credit is due to both the parties concerned, England and India. Nevertheless, however peacefully it was brought about, those arrested problems suddenly emerged. Not only did they emerge but all our people, who had been waiting for long years for political freedom, expected great things to come—great things in the sense of material betterment. Certainly, we had told them that freedom confined to the political sphere would not be enough. It has no meaning to give a vote to a starving man.

We had talked to the people in economic terms also and they expected a tremendous change suddenly, rather unreasonably, because these magic changes cannot take place suddenly. Just at this moment came other things—came the Partition of India. It came without our liking it. We were apprehensive of the consequences; therefore, we had resisted it. Ultimately, we came to the conclusion that Partition was probably a lesser evil than the continuation of an inner conflict

which was delaying our freedom. We were anxious to have that freedom as quickly as possible. So we agreed to the Partition. That Partition, as it turned out to be in its consequences, was far worse than even what we had anticipated. It was the cutting up of a living structure, of everything—all our services, whether the Army or civil services, transport and railways, communications, telephones, telegraphs and the postal system, and irrigation canals. Many families, domestic households, were suddenly cut into two. An extraordinary situation arose overnight. It created tremendous new problems, among which were upheavals, deplorable happenings and killings and then vast migrations. All our energies, that ought to have been devoted to constructive efforts, to economic betterment, which we had planned for years previously, suddenly had to be applied to tackle these new problems. We had no time or leisure or resources left to deal with the other and more basic problems. Nevertheless, the world did not stop. India could not stop. And we did try to deal with the basic problems to some extent.

Our basic problem is the land problem, as it is all over Asia. And we have gone pretty far in changing the whole antiquated and unfair land system in India. We are putting an end to the great landed estates and giving the land to the peasant, compensating the previous owner. This process is going on now. Some months ago, in my own province in India, that is, the United Provinces, which is the biggest province and has the enormous population of about sixty millions, we introduced a great reform in local self-government. In all the villages, a vast number of villages, every adult voted in what was probably one of the biggest elections that any country has had. We are going to have that all over India. Now, this is an extraordinary and a most interesting experiment. Partly it is new. Partly it is going back to village self-government that existed before the British came. Anyhow, it is a tremendous experiment in democracy, important perhaps, because it is more basic than the assembly that we may choose at the top. So, all these things have gone on. We are also proceeding with big river valley schemes which are basic for our development. All that has happened. But I want you to realize the background in which we have functioned. It has been made difficult by the after-effects of the War—and by all the other things that have happened. Still, I have little doubt that India is making good and going ahead.

There is a great deal of talk of Asia being a unit. Asia is in a sense a geographical unit; it has been a unit in many other ways but in the main it was a unit in a negative sense. That is to say, practically all of Asia became the colonial domain of various European powers. It was a unit in that sense; a colonial domain where various different peoples were struggling for freedom against European imperialists; it was a unit because of their struggles and a certain commonness of purpose. But there is, at the same time, a great deal of diversity. It is not quite correct to think of Asia as a compact unit. There is not very much in common between the Chinese and those who live in western Asia; they represent entirely different cultural, historical and other backgrounds. So also, you can separate other regions of Asia.

There is the Far Eastern region, the Middle Eastern, the Arab, the Iranian and the rest. Now whichever region you may take, India inevitably comes into the picture. The Arab world may have nothing to do with the Chinese world, or not a great deal to do with South-East Asia. But India geographically speaking, is a pivot; it is centrally situated from the strategic as well as from every other point of view.

I have said that we have no desire to play a leading role in the international sphere except when we are compelled by circumstances. People talk about India's desire for leadership in Asia. We have no desire for leadership anywhere. Our greatest anxiety and yearning today is to build up India and to solve somehow the problems that face us; and then, insofar as we can, to serve the other good causes we have at heart, in Asia, and in the rest of the world, and to cooperate with other countries in the United Nations and elsewhere. Whether we want to or not, we realize that we simply cannot exist in isolation. No country can. Certainly we cannot. Our geography, our history, present events, all drag us into a wider picture.

I have been asked whether it had struck me that there might be a certain parallel between the United States in the early years and India. It has, in the sense that a big country grew up here. Certain relatively smaller countries were around it—to the south especially—and economically and otherwise they were influenced greatly by the presence of this dominating country in the north. So, I was asked how the presence of a big country like India affected the surrounding smaller countries and whether it had the same type of effect. The parallel is not exact. Nevertheless, there is much in it. Whether we want to or not, in India we have to play an important role. It is not to our liking, because we have enough burdens of our own and we do not wish to add to them. But, as I said, we just can't choose in the matter. India, in southern, western and south-eastern Asia, has to play a distinctive and important role. If she is not capable of playing it properly, then she will just fade out.

I am quite convinced that there is no question of India fading out. Therefore, only the other role remains. Because of that and also because the United States is playing a vital role in world affairs today—again hardly from choice but through the development of certain circumstances, through necessity almost—it seems natural for an Indian to think of closer relations with the American people and this great country. I think and I have been told that it is natural, in the present context, for many Americans to think of the importance of India in this respect. Therefore, the question of India and the United States understanding each other and developing closer relations is not only important from the point of view of these two countries but has a larger importance and significance.

Whether India has anything special to teach to the United States, I do not know. That is for you to judge. Certainly, I have not come to the United States to teach anybody anything. I have come here to improve my own education as far as possible, to learn something from America and to learn something about the world through

American eyes, because both are important for me. I believe I still retain something of the spirit of a student and the curiosity of youth. It is not only this curiosity but rather a compelling necessity that makes me feel that I ought or rather that we in India ought to understand America better. Whether we agree with everything that the United States does or does not do is another matter.

This business of agreeing or not agreeing might be looked at in many ways. I think it is a wrong approach for any country or any people to expect complete agreement with another country or people about all things or to expect a duplication of their own ways and methods of thinking and action and life in the other country. The world naturally grows more uniform. Nevertheless, there is a great deal of variety in it, not only external variety in ways of life but a mental and emotional variety, too, because of different backgrounds and historical developments. If we seek to understand a people, we have to try to put ourselves, as far as we can, in that particular historical and cultural background. Normally, people do not make such an attempt at all. They feel rather irritated that the other person is so unlike them or does things in a different way. No attempt is made to understand, except rarely. I have an idea that many of our present problems—international troubles—are due to the fact that the emotional and cultural backgrounds of people differ so much. It is not easy for a person from one country to understand the background of another country. So, there is great irritation, because a fact that seems obvious to us is not immediately accepted by the other party or does not seem obvious to him at all. Even when we understand the other party's background we may not be able to convince him or he may not be able to convince us. But that extreme irritation will go when we think, not that the other person is either exceedingly stupid or exceedingly obstinate in not recognizing a patent fact as we see it but that he is just differently conditioned and simply cannot get out of that condition. If you understand that, perhaps, your approach to him will be different from that blatant, direct approach which ends in this direct and blatant approach to you and which ultimately ends in the mutual use of strong language without the least understanding of each other's mind or function. One has to recognize that, whatever the future may hold, countries and people differ in their approach and their ways, in their approach to life and their ways of living and thinking. In order to understand them we have to understand their ways of life and approach. If we wish to convince them, we have to use their language as far as we can, not language in the narrow sense of the words, but the language of the mind. That is one necessity. Something that goes even much further than that is not the appeal to logic and reason but some kind of emotional awareness of the other people.

If I may refer again to my personal experience during the eight days of my stay here, I have met many Americans. I had met distinguished Americans during the past few years in India and in Europe. I have studied a good deal of American history. I have read a good many famous American periodicals. So, I have a fair knowledge, as far as a foreigner can have, of the American background. Nevertheless, the last eight days here have brought to me, although subconsciously—

because I made my mind receptive to impressions and influences—some kind of an emotional awareness, apart from an intellectual understanding, of the American people. People tell me—and it is very likely—that I cannot know what the United States of America is after just three days in Washington and a week in New York. Nevertheless, even my present experience has brought that emotional awareness to me, which helps me much more in understanding the American people and the United States than all my previous reading and intellectual effort. Therefore, this kind of personal contact and receptivity of mind is helpful and, indeed, desirable.

You will not expect me to say that I admire everything that I find here in the United States. I do not. The United States has got a reputation abroad—Mrs Roosevelt referred to it—of being materialistic and of being tough in matters of money. Well, I could not imagine that any country could achieve greatness even in the material field without some basic moral and spiritual background. Also, Americans are supposed to be very hard-headed businessmen. I have found a very great deal of generosity and an enormous amount of hospitality and friendliness. Now, all this creates that emotional atmosphere that helps in the development of friendly relations and in the understanding of individuals as well as nations. I shall go back from here much richer than I came, richer in experience, richer in the fund of memories that I take back and richer in the intellectual and emotional understanding and appreciation of the people of this great country.

Someone referred to the part that the women of India played in our struggle for freedom. There is no doubt that the part the women of India played was not only significant but of paramount importance in that struggle; it made all the difference in the world. I am quite convinced that in India today progress can be and should be measured by the progress of the women of India. In a political and outward sense they had fewer barriers to face than the women of some European countries and, perhaps, even here; I mean in regard to the vote and other things. They, however, had to face certain social barriers which you have not had. Our political movement swept away many of those social barriers and brought the women out. That shows that our political movement was something much more than a political movement, because it affected the lives of all classes of people. It touched those who are called the untouchables, the unfortunate people who have suffered so long. They are not all untouchables; politically speaking, they are called untouchables. The movement affected them, affected the country's reaction to them. It affected children. It affected the peasantry, the industrial workers and others. So, it was a vital movement which affected every class and every group in India. That is what a real movement should be. And in this movement the women of India, undoubtedly, played an exceedingly important part. Today, as perhaps you know, we have women in our Central Cabinet and I believe in one or two provincial Cabinets also. We had a woman Governor in our biggest province. We have a woman among our ambassadors. In almost all fields of work our women take an active part.

14. U.S. Help for Mutual Advantage¹

My visit to the U.S.A. is not intended to be an one-sided affair. I would have hesitated to come to America if I had felt that it is merely to get some benefits for India. The economic cooperation between India and U.S.A. is not merely for the good of the two countries but for the progress of the world. No self-respecting country wants one-sided assistance. I am therefore convinced that cooperation between the countries is of advantage to both.

India has numerous well-thought-out plans for her industrial and agricultural development. We do not wish to take risks about these plans. The U.S.A. is among the best countries that have at their disposal the wherewithal needed to implement India's plans.

We do not wish to rely too much on external help, not because we do not welcome it but because we want our people to progress only by their own hard work.

The development of India had been retarded due to 150 years of colonial rule during which she had been treated as a supplier of agricultural produce and as a market for finished products. Whatever happens, India's development is bound to go forward now. The only question is whether she would develop fast or slowly. The Indian people have made very great sacrifices not only for the achievement of their own independence but also as producers of food and other vitally needed goods for Britain and America during war-time. These essential articles at that time could have been used for India's own development. But India had given them to the Allies in expectation that in due time she would get economic benefit for that assistance.

The Indian people are eager to reap the fruits of freedom, and they are determined to see that such fruits are achieved by work to which they pledge their life and energy.

Other events are setting the pace. If we delay, then other developments will also need priority. Therefore, it is essential that India should strive to raise the standard of life as quickly as possible and in this respect America can assist on the lines that I have indicated. There are certain essential things, which, if we do not get them, will delay our progress.

India is concentrating primarily on increasing her food production and on building up hydo-electric and other schemes which should increase the availability of power. We are picking and choosing these basic things for the speediest development of India. There are three things America can supply to ease the

1. Speech at a banquet given by the National Foreign Trade Council and the Far East American Council of Commerce and Industry, New York, 20 October 1949. From *The Hindustan Times* and *The Hindu*, 23 October 1949.

economic situation in India, not in any spirit of aid, but on a basis of mutual advantage. These things are food, particularly wheat, technical know-how of the highest calibre, and industrial machinery. India's agricultural economy has been adversely affected. Whereas in other parts of the world the urban population has increased, in India the reverse process has been taking place, causing an unbearable burden on the land and increasing poverty for the people. Unfortunately, tremendous difficulties had come in India's way necessitating the diversion of her resources for the solution of problems partly inherent in the post-freedom era and partly caused by Partition.

As Chairman of the National Planning Committee, I have for years laboured to lay down plans for the industrial development of the country. We are prepared to do without comforts, provided we see that we have the proper things in life that we need, particularly food.

We would like to have wheat from America. We have to have a reserve of wheat because international prices are low; the prices of other commodities are also low. We have given topmost priority to food. And we are going to succeed in becoming self-sufficient in two or three years' time.

India wants machinery, tools and various types of technical appliances for her river valley projects. As regards know-how, we want the best types not only in theoretical training but also in experience. The U.S.A. is one of the very few countries that has such people of experience and training at its disposal. These are among our main demands.

The loans India has obtained from the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank² are being used for the most urgent industrial projects. We attach importance to the help we can get from the U.S.A.

In spite of lack of trained diplomatic personnel, India sent some of her best representatives to the U.S.A. They would offer their fullest cooperation to representatives of American industry in discussing India's needs.

Dealing with private capital, the Indian Government have made their industrial policy quite clear in repeated statements. These statements are available for study by American industrialists. India will welcome foreign capital. She recognizes that foreign capital can come to India only on a basis of profit and safety for the investor. So far as normal assurances are concerned, we have announced in our statements that profits can be converted and even part of the capital transferred, subject to the exigencies of currency.³

The Indian Government has further given assurance that there would be no differential treatment of foreign capital, but the Government would naturally wish

2. Both these U.N. agencies were set up at the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944 to give financial help to member-countries to rebuild their economies and help promote world trade.

3. The Government of India had on 6 April 1948 announced their policy on the investment of foreign capital in India.

to encourage Indian enterprise. We think it would be an advantage to India to have foreign capital and give it the necessary freedom to function. I cannot enter into details. These are matters which you can discuss with our representatives.

About the labour situation in India, I pay Indian labour a tribute by saying that it has on the whole acted well at a critical moment when India has to fight on the food front as well as on other fronts. Sinister attempts have been made by certain groups to disrupt the unity of labour but in spite of such instigations labour has listened to my appeal for peace in industry.

Indian labour has realized that a square deal had not been given to them, that India's political struggle has not been an end in itself but that it aimed at a higher standard of living and economic freedom. Whereas in the political struggle the people had maintained a stout heart and had never entertained any doubt of eventual success, they had felt a certain despondency when beset with almost overwhelming economic difficulties after freedom had been won. The fundamental crisis in India, as in Asia, is not so much economic as psychological. Every effort must, therefore, be made to see that uniform progress is maintained for the peaceful development of every country. The Indian people are eager to reap the fruits of freedom and they are determined to see that such fruits are achieved by work in which they pledge their life and energy.

15. Serving India¹

Lack of technical advancement weakened countries. This is very true of India which at one time had a highly developed civilization but because it fell back in the technological field, the country ultimately became a colonial domain.

It is most important that not only should our country advance along known technological lines but that our technicians should show initiative and add to the existing fund of knowledge.

In the past there had been a great attraction for the law. I myself have been a barrister-at-law, but in India of the future, there would be less and less work for the lawyer and more opportunities for the technological expert.

I, therefore, want you to train yourself to the utmost, striving to attain the highest standards and not merely aim at the second best. I want you to keep the doors and windows of your minds open and never to let your minds stagnate.

1. Address to a gathering of students, mostly of Indian origin, from ten neighbouring universities, assembled at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, 21 October 1949. From *The Hindustan Times*, 23 October 1949.

Your veteran leaders of today may be with you for not more than a few years more. The responsibility for the future rests on you the students. You have to work hard to build up a strong India and be ready to relieve the old leadership of its burden.

We have to build up a great and strong India. Sometimes people are apt to dwell too much on India's past greatness. That is not the correct outlook. We must fight against stagnation in every shape and form. We must develop our own language. We must perfect our sciences and learn the most modern techniques. Only in that way can India be developed into a country of the first rank.

16. At the Wellesley College¹

Friends and Students,

I am rather overwhelmed by the introduction, by Miss Clapp,² as 'His Excellency the Prime Minister.' It is the kind of a thing that is suited to court ceremony. I have not come as a Prime Minister but as a friend today. I feel embarrassed by this introduction. It has put me off.

I do not like public-speaking much. Unfortunately, I have to indulge in it a great deal.

Ever since I came to the United States ten days ago—and it seems months—I have had to speak four times a day at length. The only way that I really can talk is that I must forget that I am speaking, to be able really to talk. I would like to see more and speak less. I would love to have you come to me as friends and have a talk, but that is not possible.

It is rather odd, my coming to Wellesley. I do not feel as though I were coming here for the first time. For the last several years I have heard about Wellesley from my nieces³ through endless long letters and pictures of Wellesley. I do not feel that it is a strange place. I had to come here because of its association with the American Revolution. It is always pleasant in this world where grown-up people like me get more and more dismal speaking about dismal subjects to see bright, young faces like yours. Sometimes confidence oozes out of those faces when they

1. Address to the students of Wellesley College, Boston, 21 October 1949. From *The Boston Globe*, 22 October 1949.

2. Margaret Clapp was President of the Wellesley College.

3. Chandralekha Mehta and Nayantara Sahgal, daughters of Vijayalakshmi Pandit.

see grown-ups. But people who take themselves seriously thinking they are managing the affairs of the world would not be managing them for very long. Others will take their places.

My nieces were very excited about my coming here. They have settled down in India and taken husbands to themselves and all that, but they have a feeling of nostalgia for this place. We shall be able to talk about it.

Thank you for your welcome. I shall remember it always. You do not know how happy I am to be in Wellesley and see all these happy, eager faces. There is no other college I have ever seen where there is such a spontaneous enjoyment of life. I always feel younger and happier, seeing happy and eager faces, and I shall again feel so today. May I come again!

17. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

Chicago, Illinois
October 26, 1949

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your note. I am being worked pretty hard here and by no stretch of imagination can this be called a holiday. Certainly it is a change and is exciting enough in its own way. I am beginning to feel more and more stale. After writing out three speeches—the one before the Congress in Washington, Columbia University and the Ottawa Parliament—I have given up this business of writing, and speak extempore. I just cannot find the time to write or develop the mood to do so. The result is that I ramble on and on which is unfortunate.

I must say that I am continually being surprised at the type of popular welcome I am getting here. I am not referring so much to the organizations that welcome me and fix up functions although even this is impressive enough. I am referring rather to the crowds gathering in the streets. It reminds me somewhat of India. In fact, an American friend who had been to India mentioned to me today, after seeing the crowds in Chicago streets, that he was surprised to find the *darshan* habit spreading to the United States.

I have another twelve days here and they are going to be pretty strenuous, though perhaps a little easier than the past fortnight. I am rather looking forward to the end of this tour. On my return to India I shall immediately be immersed in arrears of work and other problems. In between, I hope to get two days' rest at Broadlands.

1. File No. 32(46)/48-PMS.

The visit to Ottawa was busy enough but quieter. The Canadians have many American characteristics but are still quite different and are English in their ways. Old Mackenzie King worked himself up to a state of high emotion over my visit and almost shed tears. He succeeded in making others shed tears. St. Laurent, the Prime Minister of Canada, is a fine man, able and of high integrity. He is religious-minded in the Catholic sense, being a French Canadian. I stopped with the Governor-General² at Ottawa. He was with me at Harrow.

I hope you are keeping well,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

2. Earl Alexander of Tunis.

18. An Interdependent World¹

The Forum is discussing the subject of peculiar appropriateness in the the world today and even more so in the world of tomorrow. The interdependence of world problems expresses the truth which is evident to all thinking men and which we ignore at our peril. It has become increasingly difficult even to understand the problem unless we look at it in its world context.

The interdependence of world problems means the interdependence of various parts of the world on each other. No country can separate itself from others and no country can solve the problems of war and peace by itself.

The solution can only come by ever greater cooperation on a world scale so that we can advance towards the realization of a world order and a world government must come at sometime or other for the only alternative to it is world suicide.

Instead of marching, however slowly, to this realization of a world order, we are faced by rivalry and tension all over the world. Which of these two powerful tendencies will triumph in the end will decide the fate of the world for generations to come. I have no doubt that ultimately a world order will be realized though it may take a little time to do so because men's minds are not sufficiently attuned to it yet.

1. Broadcast from Chicago to the *New York Herald Tribune* Forum, 26 October 1949. From *The Hindustan Times* and *The Hindu*, 27 October 1949.

In the economic sphere this interdependence is patent today and in spite of all the tension in the world there is a strong tendency for mutual cooperation. We welcome, therefore, Mr Truman's Point Four² Programme which will encourage the development of underdeveloped countries and thus relieve some of the economic tensions of today.

It is difficult to say of what shape and form this world order will be. We must proceed firmly yet cautiously. The greatest barrier to a world order is the psychological barrier and we must try to remove that. That means first of all putting an end to the psychology of fear and encouraging the growth of goodwill among all peoples.

India will help in this process to the best of her ability. Our nationalism has always been based on this conception of a world order and international cooperation.

I earnestly trust that the progressive forces of the world will cooperate in this great task that confronts us.

2. The Four Points referred to (i) continued support for the U.N. and allied agencies; (ii) a continued programme for world economic recovery; (iii) strengthening of the freedom-loving nations against the dangers of aggression; and (iv) helping the free peoples of the world, through their own efforts, to increase production of food, clothing and material for housing, and also the power resources.

19. Need for the Gandhian Technique¹

Friends, I presume to call you so because you and others in this great country have been so extraordinarily friendly to me.

Reference has just been made to certain problems of India—something about castes, something about education, and other matters. I think perhaps it would be better if I place before you in broad outline, the picture of India by itself, and the picture of India in the world context.

You know that during the last thirty years or so, we carried on rather intensively our campaign for India's freedom. We did not begin it; it was there. It had been continued for generations before us but it came more to the world's notice then, because a world figure stepped into the arena of Indian politics—that is, Mahatma Gandhi. And he produced a very remarkable change in India.

I was, of course, much younger then but still I have the most vivid memories of that change, because it affected me as it affected millions of our people. It was a strange change that came over us. We were at that time a very frustrated people,

1. Address at the Rockefeller Memorial Chapel, University of Chicago, 27 October 1949. P.I.B. Also available in J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

hankering and yearning for freedom and not knowing what to do about it. We were helpless, unarmed, unorganized in any proper way and totally incapable, as it seemed, of facing a great imperial power which had been entrenched in our country for over a hundred and fifty years. Further, this was a power which was not superficially there, merely by force of arms but which had dug down deep into the roots of India. It seemed an extraordinarily difficult task to remove it.

Some of our young men, in the depths of their frustration, took to violent courses that were completely futile. Individual acts of terrorism took place, which meant nothing at all in the wider context of things. On the other hand, the politics of some of our leaders then was so feeble that it could produce no result. So between the two, we did not know what we could do. It seemed degrading to follow the rather humiliating line which some of the leaders of Indian public life in those days recommended; and, on the other hand, it seemed completely wrong and futile to adopt the terrorist method which, apart from being bad in itself, could not possibly gain any results.

At that time, Gandhi came on the scene and he offered a way of political action to us. It was an odd way—a new way. What he said was not new in its essence. Great men had said it previously but there was a difference in that he applied that teaching to mass political action. Something which the individual had been taught to do in his individual life was suddenly sought to be adopted for mass action—and mass action in a vast country of people who, from the educational point of view, were illiterate, untrained and thoroughly frightened; people who were obsessed with fear and who (if I may refer to the peasantry of our country which formed about 80 per cent of our population) were kicked and cuffed by everybody who came in contact with them, whether it was a governmental agency or the moneylender. Whoever it was, they were treated badly. They never had any relief from the tremendous burden they endured. Well, Gandhi came and he told them that there was a way out—a way of achieving freedom. 'First of all', he said, 'shed your fear. Do not be afraid, and then act in a united way but always peacefully. Do not bear any ill will in your hearts against your opponent. You are fighting a system, not an individual, not a race, not the people of another country. You are fighting the imperialist system or the colonial system.' Now, it was not very easy for us to understand all this; and much more difficult it must have been for others, our peasantry, for instance. But the fact remains that there was some power in his voice, something in him which seemed to infuse other people with courage and make them feel that this man was not an empty talker, that he meant what he said and that he would be able to deliver the goods if I may put it so. Almost magically, his influence spread. He was well known before also but not in this particular way. And within a few months we saw a change come over our countryside. The peasantry began to behave differently. It straightened its back. It could look at you in the face. It had self-confidence and self-reliance. Now, this did not happen automatically, of course, for Gandhi's message was carried to these

peasants in the countryside by tens of thousands of young men and young women. First of all they went to the people who became enthusiastic about it and accepted it. Within a few months, the whole situation in India changed.

Now, it is simple enough to say, 'Do not be afraid'. There is nothing magical about that. Of what were we afraid? What is a person normally afraid of? Many things. We were afraid of being put in prison. We were afraid of our property being confiscated for sedition. We were afraid, if you like, of being shot at and killed as rebels. Well, Gandhi argued with us. 'After all, if you are so frightfully keen on freedom, what does it matter if you go to prison, if your property is confiscated or even if you are killed? It does not matter much, because you will get something infinitely more. Apart from serving a great cause and apart from possibly achieving results, the mere act of doing this will fill you with a certain satisfaction and joy.' Somehow or other that voice seemed to convince masses of people; and there came about a tremendous change.

Thus started in India what might be called the Gandhian era in our politics, which lasted until his death and which, in some form or other, will always continue. I mention this so that you may have some kind of a picture of how we behaved. Large numbers of us gave up our normal professions and avocations and went to the villages preaching this gospel. We also preached other things which our political organization demanded and we forgot almost everything else that we used to do. Our lives changed, not very deliberately—they simply changed, automatically and completely, so much so that it was a little difficult for us even to interest ourselves in those activities with which we had been previously associated. We were absorbed in the new activity of the moment—and not just for a moment but for years.

Obviously, we could not have done so if we did not find a great deal of satisfaction in it. We did find satisfaction; and when people imagine that I have gone through a great deal of pain and suffering because I went to prison for a number of years, they are perhaps partly right. They are, however, fundamentally wrong in another sense, because most of us who endured privations felt that period to be the most significant in our lives. It was not a period which might be measured in terms of normal happiness but it was something deeper than that—a period in which we felt a certain satisfaction. Why? Because, for the moment, our ideals were in conformity with our actions or, to put it the other way, we acted in accordance with our ideals. And there can be no greater satisfaction to an individual than when there is such a synthesis of thought and action in him. Then he becomes, for the moment, an integrated individual and he functions with power of conviction and strength. The real difficulties seldom come from an external source. Real difficulties are those which arise in our own minds when we are in doubt; they can also arise when we are not able to act in accordance with our convictions for some reason. Then there is difficulty and obstruction within ourselves and complexes arise. We had the feeling of tremendous satisfaction in what we were doing, because during that period we became integrated human beings whose thoughts and actions were more or less in harmony.

We wanted results of course. We were working for results but at that time we were satisfied with the act of doing, results apart. We had ups and downs, apparent failures for the moment. But such was the nature of the technique of action which Gandhi had taught us that even in a moment of apparent failure there really was no going back.

You may have heard that a large number of us, a hundred thousand of us, were in prison and apparently nothing was happening in India. The movement for freedom was suppressed. It was so in a superficial sense. Six months later or a year later, suddenly one would find that the movement was very alive. Repeatedly, the British Government was amazed. It would think that it had put an end to this business; and then it would find that it had started off at a higher pitch than ever. A movement, which was a peculiar mixture of mass activity and individual action (that is, each individual doing something regardless of whether others did it or not), is a type very difficult to crush. It may be suppressed for a while; but because there is the individual's own motivation and because the individual wants to act regardless of whether others act or not, and when tens of thousands feel that way, it is very difficult to suppress them.

How do governments function? A democratic government in the ultimate analysis functions largely with the goodwill of the people and with their cooperation. It cannot go very much against them. Even an autocratic government has to have a measure of goodwill. It cannot function without it. In the ultimate analysis, a government functions because of certain sanctions which it has and which are represented by its army or police force. If the government is in line with the thought of a majority of the people, it is a democratic government and only a very small minority of the people will feel its pressure. Now, if an individual refuses to be afraid of these sanctions, what can the government do? It may put him in prison. He is not afraid; he welcomes it. He may be shot down. He is not afraid of facing death. Well, then a government has to face a crisis; that is, a government, in spite of its great power, cannot really conquer an individual. It may kill him but it cannot kill his spirit. That is failure on the part of the government. A government, which is essentially based—apart from the other factors which I have mentioned—upon the sanctions it has, comes up against something—the spirit of man which refuses to be afraid of those sanctions.

Now, that is a thing which normally governments do not understand. They are upset by it. They do not know how to deal with it. They can, of course, deal with the individual in the normal way of treating him as a criminal. But that, too, does not work, because that man does not feel like a criminal, nor do others regard him as a criminal. So, it does not work.

So that this process, this technique of action, was not one of overwhelming a government so much by mass action—although there was that phase of it—but rather one of undermining the prestige of a government before which an individual would not bow. Many of you, no doubt, have read something very like it in

Thoreau's writings. This was developed on a mass scale by Gandhi. Naturally, the people of India were not very well trained; nor did they understand too well the philosophy of this technique of action. They were weak and frail human beings. They slipped and made mistakes and all that. Nevertheless, on the whole, they did function according to that technique, and ultimately they triumphed. That is one thing I should like you to bear in mind.

The second thing is quite different. We were fighting for political freedom. That was the primary urge—the nationalist urge for political freedom. But always, right from the beginning, this political freedom was associated in our minds with economic and social progress and freedom. The more we went—and we went all the time—to the masses—the peasantry, the workers, the petty shopkeepers, especially in the rural areas—and the more we saw of the poverty of India, the more we were affected by it. We could not conceive of any freedom which would be only political freedom and which did not bring relief to these people.

The first problem we took up, inevitably, was the land problem, because most of the peasantry were oppressed by the land tenure system in India. It was a varied system—sometimes completely feudal, sometimes something less than feudal but, nevertheless, bearing down heavily upon the tenant. So right from the beginning in our programme, the reform of the land tenure system occupied a very prominent place.

We explored other fields too, and drew up various economic programmes for the betterment of the people, because we looked upon political freedom not as a final goal but rather as a gateway and an opportunity for the nation to progress, as the removal of an obstruction which came in the way of our functioning as we wanted to function. The real functioning and the real progress were to come afterwards.

We made many plans and when, two and a quarter years ago, this freedom for which we had laboured came, we had a large number of plans ready for advance along all kinds of fronts—economic, educational, health, labour. But although the dream which we had dreamed for a long time was coming true—and it was exciting to see a dream come true—it did not come true quite as we had wanted it to. In the process of its coming, the country was partitioned, although with our consent, under the stress of circumstances. Wanting peace and wanting freedom and not wanting anything to delay it, we agreed to that Partition, although we disliked it intensely and we rather feared the consequences. Still, we thought, on balance, that a Partition of the country would be the most peaceful way of achieving our ends.

As a matter of fact, peace did not follow that Partition and upheavals took place. Terrible things happened—killings, massacres of large numbers of people and vast migrations from one part of the country to another. We had six million refugees or displaced persons—call them what you will who came to India, uprooted from Pakistan. And about a like number went from India to Pakistan. Men and women of all classes, all grades in life—rich people, poor people, middle class people,

peasants, workers, merchants, industrialists, financiers, educationists, professors, lawyers, doctors, leaving all their property just hurried across to save themselves. Six million of them. Just think of the number we have had to look after.

This was a terrific problem looking after six million refugees. To settle them was difficult enough. The second thing, just to feed them and to give them shelter, was another very big task but the final and the biggest task was to rehabilitate them. We have been engaged in that for the last two years. We have rehabilitated a fairly large number but a considerable number still remains; and I am afraid that this problem is going to be with us for many years.

Look at the picture of India about the time independence came to us and just after. The coming of independence was, as you know, peaceful in the sense that there was peace between India and the United Kingdom. It was done by agreement; and the whole process was completed in an admirably peaceful way, which does great credit both to India and England.

There is one factor I should like you to remember in this particular connection. Gandhi's technique of action was not only peaceful but also effective. It showed results. It showed its effectiveness most in the way it brought about freedom and the fact that it led to no ill will between the two countries. And later achieving that freedom, though we were not completely devoid of ill feeling—I must say that—yet it was extraordinary how suspicion, ill will and bitterness against England faded away from our country. And, as you know, we decided of our own free will to cooperate with her in many things and we have continued to cooperate with her.

If you have to solve a problem, it is not much good solving it in such a way as to create two or three more difficult problems. That is what normally happens. Gandhi's way was not only to solve the problem but to solve it in such a way that it was a final or relatively final solution that did not create other problems.

The problem of freedom was satisfactorily solved. Nevertheless, the ending of British rule after a hundred and fifty years, naturally, brought many problems in its trail. All kinds of new forces were released. All kinds of problems which had been arrested or hidden away came up before us. There were the Indian princes, six hundred of them, big and small. That was a difficult matter. We could not possibly have six hundred islands of independent or semi-independent territory all over India. No country could exist like that. Then, there were many reactionary elements in India which thought that when the British left there would be a period of disorder that they might take advantage of. There were feudal elements and narrow nationalistic elements, communal elements and the like. And then, on top of this, came the post-Partition upheaval in northern India. Naturally, it helped all these reactionary elements and they wanted to profit by it.

This was the situation we had to face. Well, we faced it and gradually overcame it. We survived and we began solving many of the big problems that had arisen. Take the Indian states problem. We have practically solved it, and with remarkable speed, considering the complexity of it. Five or six hundred states have been

disposed of peacefully and with the cooperation and consent of the rulers of these states. Why? Because the whole Indian states system of these maharajas and rajas and nawabs was completely artificial and was kept up by the British power. May be a hundred and fifty years ago it was not so artificial but much had happened since then; and I have no doubt that if the British had not been in India, these rulers either would have been removed or would have changed their character or would have been fitted into a new kind of political structure, just as in the last hundred and fifty years you have seen all kinds of principalities gradually disappearing in Europe. That would have happened in India too.

But it could not happen because the British, an external authority, protected these people. They were completely without strength, either of their own people or in any other way. And so, the moment the British power was removed, the Indian princes, practically speaking, collapsed like a house of cards; and they came to terms with us. And we gave them generous terms—generous in the sense that we gave them generous pensions—but otherwise they ceased to be rulers as they had been. In some places, in two or three cases, they continue for the moment as constitutional rulers with Ministers and the other paraphernalia of democratic government. In other places they are just ex-rulers pensioned off. This major problem was thus solved with remarkable speed.

The land problem too which we had taken up long ago, we wanted to solve with all speed. That is a much more difficult problem but in a great part of India—in three of our biggest provinces—it is practically solved or is in the process of being solved. It meant acquiring the land from big landlords on payment of compensation. That meant rather big sums by way of compensation. Therefore, it was complicated; otherwise there was no difficulty. The actual cultivators will keep their land and the absentee owners will be paid compensation for giving up such rights as they might have had. We are proceeding with that. This is important because the biggest problem of Asia—taken as a whole—is the land or the agrarian problem. There are many other problems in Asia but the basic problem, before you can make progress, in an agricultural country, is obviously the agrarian problem. I think that many of the troubles of Asia can be understood only if you keep in mind the fact that the agrarian problem is the most important.

We tackled the agrarian problem in India and, if I may say so, the basic stability of the Indian Government is due to the fact that we have dealt with the agrarian problem in a way satisfactory to the peasant in India. I might also mention in this connection that the peasantry suffered tremendously in the past with everybody sitting on their backs. Our urban areas grew at the expense of our peasantry. For the first time in their lives, the peasantry had a tolerably fair deal during the last War. That is, the high prices of agricultural produce brought them much more money than they had ever seen. This resulted in their paying off the very heavy agricultural debts which was bearing them down. And again, for the first time also, they began

to eat a little more because they got a good price. They were not forced to sell every bit of grain or other produce, as they were previously, to pay their rent. Previously, they had to sell almost everything just to hang on to their land. Because they got much higher price for their produce, they could pay their rent easily and have something left over. So they began to eat more.

That, of course, is a very good thing—their paying off their debt and the peasantry eating a little more wheat or rice—but this had a result that was slightly upsetting in another field. When a hundred million people begin to eat a little more, it makes a vast difference to the total food stocks of the country. And we began to suffer from food deficits. These food deficits were partly caused by the Partition because some of our best wheat-growing areas went to Pakistan. There were other causes too; but one of these causes was the fact that people were actually eating more. We wanted them to eat more but for the moment we did not have more for them to eat or rather, if they ate more, the others had less to eat and that created a problem. We could not afford, as an autocratic government might, to see people starving and dying of famine.

May I remind you that not so long ago, in 1943, six years ago, while the War was going on, there was terrible famine in Bengal? You may remember that three million people died in the province of Bengal through sheer starvation. That famine took place for many reasons but it was directly related to the War in the sense that India's resources were thrown into the War without a thought as to how that would affect the masses generally. They were deprived of even the bare necessities and, suddenly had nothing. There was a bad harvest, there were no resources left and they died like flies. A democratic government could not have faced a situation like that even if it wanted to. That government would have been replaced by some other government. So then, this food deficit took place, among other reasons, because people were eating a little more. The peasantry would not bring to the market all that they previously brought. The cities began to suffer. We had to import food—large quantities of it—which, again, became a terrible burden on us.

This was apart from the normal difficulties created by the Partition. The difficulties were very great, because the Partition of India meant suddenly cutting a living body into two. Everything was partitioned overnight, our communication system, telephones, telegraphs, postal system, irrigation system, transport system, railways, army, and civil services. Everything was divided up; and in spite of the fact that it was done peacefully, it produced a certain amount of confusion. Just at this time came the upheaval and with it the vast numbers of refugees—millions of them. With that we had also to face the food deficit and pay large sums of money to import food from abroad.

It was not a very easy situation for any government to face, especially a new government, after its country had been partitioned and all its services and everything had been upset. However, we have gone through this period and on the whole have made good. And may I say that because we have gone through this period and

faced all these dangers and difficulties, as well as the previous hardships during our struggle for freedom, we have gained a sense of self-confidence? And we feel that we know very well what we have already faced and overcome. And so, there is a general feeling of confidence in the country in regard to the economic and other problems which we have. We shall get over them. It will mean hard work. But we are perfectly prepared for hard work. We do not try to delude our people into thinking that they are going to have an easy time. But what they expect is not an easy time but a picture of the future for which they should work—a picture in which they can see, first of all, a progressive improvement of their lot and present burdens being more or less fairly shared by all groups instead of being borne by some groups and not by others. The latter, as you can well appreciate, can be a very irritating thing.

That is the position of India. That being so, our primary concern today is to build a new India, to make it prosperous, to do everything which could enable the economy to improve, create more wealth and increase production. In doing that, we feel that we should pay much more attention to what might be called the basic industries or certain basic things than to other rather superficial industries.

Our first attention is paid, therefore, to certain river valley schemes. Some of them are very big schemes— bigger than the Tennessee Valley Authority; many of them are smaller. These river valley schemes are multi-purpose schemes— aimed at first of all, to avoid floods; secondly, to irrigate large areas of land for the production of food; thirdly, to produce hydro-electric power; then, also to prevent soil erosion and malaria; and, ultimately, to help the growth of industry.

These are very ambitious schemes and rather costly. In our enthusiasm we wanted to go ahead with dozens and dozens of these schemes. We had to slow down a little when we found that we did not have the technical personnel or the financial capacity to go ahead with all of them. Nevertheless, we are going ahead with some of the big ones and many of the small ones and we hope to go ahead with the others soon enough.

Then we want to develop certain other basic industries—steel, for example. We have a very big steel plant. It is not enough. We want to have more steel plants and machine-tool industries. Unless one has these basic things, one cannot industrialize a country. We want to industrialize India. We will not, of course, change her fundamentally agricultural character thereby, because, however much we may industrialize her, India will still remain basically an agricultural country whether India wants to or not.

India suddenly has to face new contacts with Asian countries and new responsibilities. Of course, whether you think in terms of trade or commerce or defence, India comes into the picture—whether it is West Asia or South-East Asia or the Far East. You may consider South East Asian problems apart from West Asian problems but in both these India comes in. So, India cannot be isolated. In the world today, no country—big or small—can just isolate itself. We have to

face very difficult problems and those people who are in positions of responsibility have really a terrific burden to carry. The burden would, anyhow, be very difficult and great but the real difficulty, a moral difficulty, if I may say so, is this: you may, perhaps, be convinced in your mind of a certain course of action which is right or, if I may put it another way, you may be convinced of what is truth in a certain context. If you are convinced as an individual, it is your duty to follow that line regardless of consequences. As a political leader, you do not function as an individual; you function through other individuals whom you lead. You have to make those other individuals also understand the truth as you perceive it. It is not enough for you to perceive it. They are the material through which you act and, therefore, the measure of their activity is governed not by your understanding but by their own understanding of what you say.

Difficult questions, political or moral, thus arise. That you have to function through a medium is a limiting factor. You have to function through masses of men or governments or groups, and not as an individual. You may be a very great leader—a prophet if you like—but you are functioning as an individual, no doubt influencing others, no doubt influencing succeeding generations tremendously but, nevertheless, functioning as an individual. First of all, political leaders are not prophets; nor are they, normally, great seekers after truth. Even if they choose to follow what they consider the right path, they are limited by the fact that they have to make others move and not themselves alone. And so, they inevitably have to compromise. In the context of things, they have to compromise, because there are so many forces at play which they cannot control. Either they retire from the scene or they compromise. Now, once you start compromising, you are on a slippery slope and it may land you anywhere. So, what is one to do? On the one hand, there is this danger of your losing all touch with reality or truth, if you like, and on the other hand, unless you compromise, you do not acknowledge reality, you are cut off from it and function merely as an individual and not as a leader.

This is a difficult problem which each one of us in his own small or big way has to face. I know no answer to it, because there can be no general answer and each case has to be measured and considered separately. But I would say this, even when one compromises, one should never compromise in regard to the basic truth. One may limit the application of it, remembering always the basic way, the basic objective and where the aim lies. But if we forget the basic objective, then the small step may lead us astray.

In the present-day world, people talk of the atom bomb and are afraid of all the possible consequences which even the present generation might have to face. It is a very extraordinary situation, because one may say that science and the application of science have developed so much that it should be easily possible for the whole world to satisfy not only the primary needs of humanity but other needs also and to have full opportunities of individual or group development without having conflict. I think that it can be mathematically shown that it is possible for

the whole world to prosper if the resources of the world were turned in the direction of the betterment of humanity instead of so much of them being used for and wasted for purposes of war and the preparation for war. For the first time in history, mankind has the key to its happiness in its own hands. If this problem had arisen two or three hundred years ago, it would, perhaps, have been difficult to solve, because all mankind could not prosper together at that time.

And yet, just when we can solve a problem which has affected the world through ages past, we, so to speak, by our own volition, raise this new problem which may be exemplified today by the atom bomb. Of course, the atom bomb is only a symbol of other things. It is an extraordinary thing that we live in fear of it all the time, not knowing when sudden disaster may descend upon us. I am not terribly afraid of it because I do not think that there is much likelihood of that disaster descending upon us in the near future or for some years to come. I hope that if these years are properly utilized, it will never come, provided we work to that end consciously and also provided we are not terribly afraid. The real danger of the situation is that of fear and that wrong steps might be taken because of fear.

We have got into a vicious circle. I am quite certain that in the world today there are very few persons who can conceivably think of war and that in every country a vast number of people, almost everyone, desires peace. And yet, in spite of that, there must be something wrong with our thinking or with our actions. Why should we be caught in this web? We may say, of course, that it is not our fault, that it is other people's fault. And it is, doubtless, true. Nevertheless, there is something wrong about our getting caught in that dilemma. Gandhi always told us that you have no business to blame the British for the failures in your national movement as the failures lay in what you tried to do. Of course, the British Government would try to check you, that is their function. So long as they do not agree and so long as the whole question is not settled, they will check you. So what is the good of blaming them because they check you and defeat you? It shows your failure. It is always your failure if you do not succeed, not the Britishers' failure.

It is not much good our blaming others. Others, no doubt, are to blame. That is not the point. But we should find a way out and not depend upon the goodwill or the ill will of others, for then we become dependent on what others do in regard to war and peace.

I have obviously no magical formula to offer anybody in regard to this dilemma, which is a very difficult one for a politician, because any person with responsibility cannot afford to take a risk about his country. He has to prepare for every eventuality. He has to prepare against any possible aggression. He cannot, humanity being what it is, just take up the line of complete passive resistance and say that we shall do nothing and hope that nobody else will do anything. He cannot take any risk and he has to be ready for every possible contingency.

On the other hand, the very act of that preparation sometimes goes so far as to bring a possible conflict nearer, and it is obvious that a conflict, if it comes

on a world scale, is likely to be a disaster of unparalleled magnitude. Nobody knows exactly what will happen but one thing is dead certain that the modern world, as it functions today and modern civilization as it is, will hardly survive.

If that is so—and we must realize that that is likely to happen—then it is not merely a question of victory and defeat. Of course, victory is always desirable so that we may do what we want to do. But the question is a much deeper one—that of achieving certain objectives at which you aim. When you fight a war, you fight it to attain certain objectives. Victory is not the objective but a step, the removal of an obstruction, so that you may attain the objective. If you forget that objective, then the victory you gain becomes a hollow victory. It is some relief, no doubt, but you have not gained the objective. Hence, the last two Wars, which have seen tremendous victories in the military sense, have somehow not relieved the tensions of the world.

Perhaps, in this context, it is worthwhile thinking how far the Gandhian technique is applicable. I do not know how far it is applicable practically, because there are innumerable difficulties but I do think that whether or not it is practically applicable, in our mental and psychological life, it may help us a great deal.

20. The Futility of War¹

Mr Kleinbaum,² Governor Stevenson,³ ladies and gentlemen,

During the fortnight I have been here, in the United States, I have received many welcomes. I think that on this occasion I have received one of the most significant of them from this distinguished gathering and from the two organizations that have sponsored this occasion. I am grateful to you and to those organisations. I am afraid what I hear, and the sympathy and the praise I get, perhaps, that is not too good for me. Wherever I have gone I have met with friendly faces and here too in Chicago from this morning on—whether it is indoors or outside in the streets, I have seen

1. Speech at a dinner hosted by the Chicago Council of Foreign Relations and the Chicago Chamber of Commerce, Chicago, 27 October 1949. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L.
2. Mayer Kleinbaum, President of the Chicago Foreign Policy Association, presided over the meeting.
3. Adlai E. Stevenson (1900-1965); Governor of Illinois, 1949-53; Democratic nominee for President, U.S.A., 1952 and 1956 and Ambassador to the U.N., 1961-65.

friendly faces and friendly eyes looking towards me. If I feel a little moved by this it is not surprising and it seems to me that my returning formal thanks or expressing formally my gratitude is hardly enough.

Often, people refer to the days of our struggle in India and to the fact that I, of course, in common with vast numbers of others, suffered during that period and spent a good part of it in prison. Now, while I welcome your sympathy, I should like, with all respect, to tell you that that sympathy is rather wasted. Because the most significant period in my life was that when I was engaged in that struggle. Not only significant but the part of my life in which I found some kind of fulfilment, and there cannot be greater satisfaction to a person than in finding fulfilment in the work he does. Ultimately perhaps, the only true joy for a person is to engage himself in some great cause, in some elemental work and to give all his strength and energy to it. Even that is joy enough, but if some kind of fulfilment also comes, some kind of realization of a dream that has long been dreamt, then surely no other reward can be compared to it.

So I am grateful to you, but the real gratitude that I have felt for many years has been to my own people who have lavished their love and affection and showed trust in me and my colleagues in India, and made me feel very humble before that affection and trust. Because I felt then, and I feel now, that no individual is big enough to have that trust or that affection, and it is a dangerous thing for any individual to be so much loved and trusted.

Fortunately, I am not much of a politician, and I am glad that I was introduced less as a Prime Minister than something else, because I am Prime Minister rather accidentally if I may say so, or in a sense in a non-political way. I was thrust into politics because of the force of circumstances, and not because of any free will. And there I remain because the circumstances continued, and there I suppose, I shall remain for some time more because it is difficult to leave. But because of that way of approaching these problems, I do not exactly feel the politician's burden about it. I have burdens enough. But I have a certain personal approach to it, if I may say so, a certain irresponsible approach to it, by which I can function to some extent, within limits, as I want to.

Well, I came to the United States and some people imagined that I had some special design or sinister motive in coming here. Well, the only motive or design I had was to fulfil my desire to come here and to meet the people and see them and try to understand them a little more than I did. I have tried to understand the people here even from a distance by reading about them, by reading about their history, about their struggle for freedom, how they progressed, and how they reached this stage of unparalleled prosperity and so on and so forth. I knew something of the literature produced here. I have read something about the great men of this country and many people in my own country had been inspired by the examples of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln and others and so it was natural for me to desire to come here. In fact, it has surprised me that it took such a long time for me to come here.

Now I came here, and even before, I tried always to compare and contrast, what I saw here and what I know and I have seen in India. I contrasted our yesterdays, our struggles for freedom as that was a frequent pastime in old days for us, to study the revolutions and other major changes that have happened in other countries, so that we might learn from them for our own struggle. We learnt much from them. Although as you know, from the manner of our development, our struggle was somewhat different and somewhat unique under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. It was not unique in the sense that anything that he said was very new, but was rather unique in applying certain things, till then practised by individuals, being practised by masses of men for a political struggle. That is, applying certain individual standards and methods of working to large groups and millions of people. That was a new experiment, a tremendous experiment. The Indian people are no better or no worse than others. They are neither angels nor devils, they are just ordinary human beings, and it was not possible for them to rise completely up to what they were asked to do by Mahatma Gandhi. Nevertheless, it was surprising the extent to which they tried to follow what he had told them, and ultimately in spite of setbacks and in spite of stumbling many a time, they did achieve their freedom by the method he had shown them, and therefore, that great experiment was a success. It was a success not only in achieving what we had set out to achieve but also, and that is well worth remembering, in achieving it in a way that left goodwill behind for every one. Normally speaking when there is conflict, whatever the result of that conflict, there is a trail of ill will left, which leads sometimes to future conflicts, and so there is an unending succession of conflicts. Now, the chief virtue of the method that Mahatma Gandhi showed us and which we tried to follow in spite of not doing as well as we ought to have done was not only a certain achievement but achievement in a significant way, ending actually in goodwill and cooperation with those, with whom we were in conflict. That really is a remarkable thing and as I have said elsewhere, it is something which might help us in considering conflicts and problems that often face us in a wider world. How could we oppose the powerful Empire governing us? If anybody raised his head, it was struck down. At that time, Gandhi came and told us not to be afraid. Very simple, very simple thing to say, but there was something in him, something in his voice, and his eyes, and the way he said these things, that had a powerful effect on our people. It is an extraordinary thing how that sense of fear vanished from the Indian people because they realised what could happen to them. Well, they could be jailed, they might be shot, killed, perhaps their property might be confiscated. Well, after all one could survive all these things, not death I mean, but still, one could face them. Why be afraid if it came in one's way? Well it sounds simple. But it did work that way anyhow. There was a magical change in India and the British Government of the day did not quite know what to do about it, because a State can only govern so long as people are afraid of it. The moment an individual is not afraid of the State then the State with all its

armies and navies cannot put him down. They can cane him but they cannot put him down. Now that is a fact worth remembering.

So, I came here comparing and contrasting the United States with India. I read about your early days. I saw how you came here, cut yourself adrift from what was then feudal Europe and started more or less with a clean slate, the ideas of freedom and democracy, and built up this great democracy. You had certain advantages which few other countries have had or are likely to have. A vast field to develop. No old burdens to carry. They were left behind in Europe. Yet you could draw upon the riches of Europe, the culture of Europe, without its entanglements. So you developed this country, and you tended to keep yourself further aloof from the troubles of the world. Why should you get mixed up with them? And you had hundred years or more to go on developing, till you arrived at your present stature, and then by virtue of that development you were forced to consider other problems of the world, because the world became narrower meanwhile.

Now, India of course has an entirely different background. We are very old as a nation. Age has certain advantages and certain great disadvantages. We have both. Certain advantages are significant and are very helpful and they inspire us. That is the history of our race in last 2,500 years. The disadvantages come in our way. We try to remove them. Anyhow, while you developed fully, with the Industrial Revolution that started more or less in England arriving at a peak of achievement, we were found lagging behind as we could not develop ourselves in that way. May be it was our fault, may be it was the fault that we were under the foreign rule, may be it was all that. But the fact remains that we achieved freedom, political freedom. Meanwhile, of course, the world had advanced much more and many conflicts were taking place. Political freedom is not considered quite enough, as it cannot be enough for a starving person. He wants food to eat, he wants other necessities of life. So, an economic element came in, freedom and new ideals came into play, which stirred masses of our men and women.

Now while you had a hundred or a hundred and fifty years to develop and strengthen yourself and make yourself prosperous and powerful, we in India had to face the problems of both political and economic freedom more or less at the same time. We did not have, and we do not have a long period to develop. We have to solve these problems fairly quickly. Because if a big problem arises in a nation's life and you do not solve it, then the problem tends to grow worse. One has to do that and I should like you to see India today in this context—indeed the world if you like, or Asia especially.

After two or three hundred years of foreign domination in various ways and colonialism, we in Asia have vast movements today. Asia is rapidly getting rid of colonial rule. Some little bits remain and I have no doubt, these will also disappear. Now, this period of foreign rule had arrested growth in India and in many other countries of Asia leading to frustration and accumulation of many

problems. So you see vast movements in Asia today. Essentially most of these movements, apart from the natural urge of nationalism and political freedom, are primarily agrarian movements dealing with the land. Because, unless you solve the agrarian problem, where there have been feudal conditions, it is difficult to make progress in any other direction. I should like you to consider Asia in this context. I am trying to simplify the issue, though there are many other things but there is too much of a tendency to think of conflicts in Asia on some ideological level. The major problems of Asia are—firstly, political freedom, secondly, to supply the people of that continent with the barest necessities of life. If in a country a large number of people do not get those necessities, then they think only of themselves. They do not think of others, or of distant problems or ideologies. You might think of them and you might be excited about them but generally speaking, their ideas are bound up as to how they can obtain those necessities of life—food, clothing, housing. In that context if you see Asia and rid yourself of the many other confusing issues, you will probably understand the problem a little better.

Now, if Asia is like that, how do you propose to deal with her? Obviously, you cannot deal with those vast masses that have now rid themselves of foreign rule by any means of compulsion. It simply cannot be done. You have to understand them, you have to influence them if you can, but essentially you have to win them over by understanding them and by making them feel that their wants and urges will be fulfilled if they follow any particular course.

Somehow in the last thirty or forty years, because of the two World Wars, our minds seem to think in terms of force even more than they ever used to. I know that as the world goes today, it is a little difficult to do without force, and in any event if force is used for evil purposes, it has to be countered and met by force. Nevertheless, if one thinks that the problems of the world are solved by force, I think, that is a major error. Even past history does not count on this, but certainly when large numbers of people as in Asia are on the move, then to think that by force you can make them do this or that, it seems to me to ignore the reality of the problems. I may give you a parallel. If you have to open a lock, you try to do so with your key. You do not go about it with a hammer, hammering it, and this method of force being used, to influence people is just like using a hammer on a lock. Therefore, I think it has become of the utmost importance for us, wherever we may be, to understand these fundamental problems of Asia as of the rest of the world. I speak of Asia but the same argument really applies elsewhere too.

The fundamental problem, so far as Asia is concerned, as I said, is nationalism—that is the dominant urge. I know that nationalism in its extremist form is a most dangerous thing—we have seen this functioning like that. Nevertheless, until political freedom is won, nationalism remains the strongest urge for a country. Whatever may have been done in the past, it is not possible today to suppress nationalism for long by force. And sooner national freedom is established in every part of Asia the better it will be for world peace. The second problem is an economic

one, which also applies to large parts of the earth's surface. Unless certain fundamental economic urges are met there is bound to be discontent and trouble. How are they to be met? They cannot be met by doles and charity and what might be called humanitarianism and the like. Occasionally help may be given, if there is some trouble. Essentially that means freedom and opportunity to build oneself up. I do not think that if by any chance political freedom had come to us without our struggling for it and without our achieving it by our own efforts, that would have been worthwhile even. Because I do not think we would have been able to preserve it. Anything that is worthwhile has to be worked for and obtained by one's own effort. I do not want any help from America, in the sense of my getting something for nothing, in the sense of my not working. I know that will not be good for India. I think, it is good for India and good for the United States as for other countries, to cooperate together. I am convinced that in the world, as it is today, it is impossible of course, for one to isolate oneself but it is much more than that. Even the most prosperous countries in the world are likely to suffer because other parts of the world are not prosperous and drag them down. You cannot isolate and separate these things today. So such cooperation is a thing which brings about mutual advantages and mutual benefits.

Well, we achieved our freedom after making a great deal of effort for it. When we did that we did not think merely of political freedom. A problem was always before us—that was the problem of India's poverty. How was that poverty to be removed? We need not go into. That is a big question and it is an argument which does not need repetition here. But the main problem before us even in the days of our struggle for political freedom was how to remove poverty and unemployment and build up India and make her a prosperous country. So as soon as we achieved freedom, we wanted to divert all our energies and strength to fulfil this other purpose. Unfortunately, the very moment that India became an independent country the troubles started in India—the internal troubles—upheavals came following the Partition of India. Vast migrations which involved our looking after six million refugees, and many other things too. So all the big plans and projects that we had for the advancement of India had to be postponed for a while. Well, they were only postponed and we are going ahead with them in spite of all kinds of difficulties that have arisen, the latest being, of course, the devaluation of various currencies.⁴ But we are determined to achieve that economic success that we aim at and I have no doubt that we shall do so. The question is how best to do so? How to do so as rapidly as possible? Obviously, we can do that with the cooperation of other countries sooner than otherwise—otherwise we shall take a longer time.

What do foreign affairs mean? Presumably foreign relationships, foreign cooperation, foreign contacts, if you like. It may have been possible though it was not entirely possible to be isolated in the past, but it is clear that that cannot be

4. See *ante*, 41-45.

done today. Activities of various countries overlap and they just cannot ignore each other. Everything in the world today tends to be on a world scale and so, of course, people have talked rightly, about a world State. I have little doubt that sometime or other some such world State is likely to evolve. How or when, I cannot say. Because the alternative to that seems to me world disaster of unparalleled magnitude.

Now, our tendency in India today is, like perhaps what your tendency was in olden days, to concentrate on our own country, to work for it, to build it up, brick by brick and not to get entangled in anything else. We have got enough work to do. We are not interested in what may be called the leadership of Asia, or leadership of any other part of the world. We are just interested in building our country up and so naturally we try to avoid entanglements anywhere. We have been entangled in a different way, when we were under British rule. Having come out of that we want to sense this freedom of non-entanglement. Apart from that we are fortunate in some respects, that is, partly due to British rule, if you like, that we have no particular ties with any country except friendly ties, no complications, no conflicts. Why should we of our own free will, unless circumstances compel us, tie ourselves up or make enemies, or otherwise get into these entanglements? So obviously our natural tendency is to remain away from any troubled area or any problem which does not immediately affect us. Now that is quite natural.

At the same time, it is quite impossible for India to do so. Take Asia. Now the whole history of India, like that of any other country, is powerfully governed by geography. In the past it has been, in the present it is, and in the future probably it will be a little less than in the past, because every country is every other country's neighbour now, owing to the speed of communication and transport and other developments. But anyhow, India is situated geographically in such a way that we just cannot escape anything that happens in Western Asia, in Central Asia, in eastern Asia or South-East Asia. Whether it is in terms of war or in terms of peace, we cannot escape it. Whether you look upon it from the economic point of view, trade point of view, something that happens in western Asia, India is affected; in South-East Asia, India is affected; in China, India is affected; because we are centrally situated in a pivotal position.

Now that being so, we just cannot escape the burdens and responsibilities which that position brings to us. And so, even in the course of the last two years since we achieved freedom, we have had to develop our foreign relations and in spite of all difficulties we have had to send our ambassadors and ministers to nearly every important country in the world. In other words, whether we wanted to be important in foreign affairs or not, that position is being thrust upon us almost against our will. We have to face that. Facing that, nevertheless, we wish, as far as we can, not to tie ourselves because of that, that initial urge that I told you about.

But there is another thing to it. For the last thirty years in our national struggle and after, we functioned under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi. It was a definite

policy, a definite outlook that he gave us for our national struggle. Naturally, any policy that we may pursue now flows and is powerfully influenced by that. Even in our national struggle, our policy was one of peace. We cannot give that up. That becomes our primary endeavour. It is our first urge anyhow, because we want peace to develop in our country. Apart from that, we want peace in the rest of the world because if there is no peace, we are likely to get entangled in it. Therefore, our foreign policy is essentially based on the maintenance of peace.

We know that we are not, perhaps, strong enough to make a great difference in world affairs at present. If we are not strong enough to make such a difference in favour of peace, neither then are we strong enough to make a difference in favour of war. We prefer to take the former alternative, and to try our best till circumstances compel us to do something else.

Personally, I think that in the United States, I have been quite convinced in the last two weeks or so, that there is a very vast majority of people here strongly inclined and desirous of peace. I suppose that is true of the greater part of the world, and yet it is an extraordinary situation that while people want peace, events force them somehow in a contrary direction, or may be, that statesmen controlling or partly controlling those events push them or are pushed along that direction. Now, that is an extraordinary situation and I do not see, personally speaking, not as a Prime Minister, but as an individual, why I should be pushed about by any event in a direction I do not want to go. I do not propose to be pushed about insofar as I can and so far as my country accepts my argument. I know that it may be difficult to keep up that position and events may be too strong as they often are for one. Well, if that is so one will have to judge of those particular circumstances in that particular setting; but before that setting forces one, I think it is the duty of all of us, whether we are politicians or statesmen or common citizens, to do our utmost to prevent this happening. Why is this happening? Largely, I think, because of an enveloping fear that surrounds people.

Now I am surprised at powerful States having this sense of apprehension and fear, when a weak unarmed people with no strength behind us could get rid of it and face an Empire. So I do not see why we should suffer this fear. I think if we approach this problem purely as idealists, pure idealism makes us leave touch with all kinds of reality; but while feeling that idealism also is necessary in the modern world we should combine it—balance it with realism. By getting rid of this fear, I think, it is quite possible that we can get rid of this war-complex which fills the minds of many people.

So what are the problems today? There are many problems. Apart from India, there is, if I may refer to it, probably an essential problem that is nationalism versus internationalism. I am talking of the world where internationalism is growing and has much grown. On the other hand, internationalism can only grow effectively when nationalism has achieved its objectives. Wherever freedom is lacking, you cannot have internationalism. When there is something to promote nationalism and

when national freedom is obtained, then you get other forces functioning, economic and international.

The problem of the growth of centralization, and at the same time preservation of individual freedom is the second big problem of the age which probably affects more the advanced countries than the less advanced countries. The modern world tends to grow more centralized whether politically or economically. That tends to limit individual freedom. You must have centralization in the world, you can't function independently all over. There is no doubt that too much of centralization limits freedom. Of course, you have the extreme example of this centralization in the Soviet system which means a regimentation of everybody under the very powerful State apparatus and individual freedom ceases to exist whatever other virtue it can achieve. That is one extreme example in the modern world. But apart from communism or Sovietism, there is a tendency for extreme centralization to limit individual freedom. Now how worthwhile it can be for the benefit of a group or an individual, I do not know. Personally, I would not like to lose my individual freedom for any other benefit which may limit my individual freedom. I do not think that humanity can ultimately advance if individual freedom is strictly limited and regimented. After all, great advances have come, not only through raising the group, but by the efforts of certain individuals who have gone far ahead of humanity and also pulled the others up. Either they are genius or prophets or great scientists.

Individual freedom, therefore, is essential, I think. To some extent it has to be circumscribed if we live in society and function together, but only to the extent that it is necessary to serve. At the same time, one cannot have individual freedom when the means to maintain that freedom are lacking. You cannot have individual freedom even if economic conditions are bad in any country. That is far from freedom. A starving man is not free.

The modern world which accepted the ideal of political freedom long ago and has worked up to achieve that, the second ideal of individual freedom has been kept and it has also become more and more powerful and moves masses of people. That is a social ideal, an economic ideal. The world today has got a social conscience, and unless any scheme, political or economic, satisfies that social conscience of the world, it would be found lacking something basic. It does not matter how much you justify it. Now specially when the vast masses of people are awake and somehow realise their own pitiful conditions and are not prepared to submit to them, it becomes exceedingly important that any steps we may take should satisfy that social conscience and should satisfy those large masses of men. Satisfy them not only in terms of immediate needs, as soon as possible although that too is desirable, but satisfy their more basic urges towards which they are marching. That is very essential. Because unless that is done, those people are apt to look in other directions and seek other solutions and be moved by other cries and other calls, and aspirations.

These, I think, are some of the major problems. Some of us, specially those

who have responsibilities and are holding positions of political importance, have to face day-to-day problems. They have little time to think about the more basic and more wider problems that affect the world. This is rather unfortunate because this results in losing our perspective, either perspective of the past or of the future and we deal with the problems as they arise from day to day and get more and more entangled in them, without seeing where they lead us to. Among other things, we tend to forget that we who are in politics whatever we may do, whatever we may aim at, it is quite essential that we should adopt the right method to achieve that objective. Strangely enough, it however seems to me a fantastic way of proceeding because we don't seem to profit by experience. Wise men, it is said, profit by other people's experience, from the experience of history, but what are we to say about our present generation which refuses to profit by its own experience, leave out other people's experience.

I do not think there is going to be a war in the near future. I cannot guarantee of course for a long period. But I do not think there is going to be a war in spite of all the talk of war. The war can only be prevented ultimately, by clear thinking and by vigilant action, and above all, by not giving in to this totally unnecessary fear about war. War can best be prevented by working for peace and not by merely vaguely wishing for it. Working for peace means removing the causes of war as far as we can. We cannot remove the causes of war from everybody's mind or if some people wish to act wrongly, we cannot prevent them from doing so but nevertheless we can try.

Among the major causes of war are, first of all, the lack of national freedom. People who are trying to be free, being obstructed. Then, there is racial inequality, want and misery. Now people, those people, whom you may think want war, or commit aggression, can only succeed if they influence large masses of human beings—large masses who are in want, or who have a grievance because they are not free, or because they have a grievance about racial inequality, etc. They are influenced not because of some other doctrine, but because some kind of idealistic appeal is made to them in accordance with the particular urge they may have. Therefore, we should remove these three major causes or try to remove them. We cannot do anything by magic, but we must work towards that end. I think that the capacity to do mischief of those people who may want war or who may wish to commit aggression, will be reduced very greatly and it will not be possible for masses of men and women to be pushed in the wrong direction by such people's negative urges not being satisfied.

I have spent a good part of my life in India's struggle for freedom and we have achieved not the kind of achievement that we wanted, but still we have some fulfilment of our dream. We have got hard work ahead because it has been only a partial fulfilment. We propose to go ahead with all our strength and energy to solve the economic problems of India. We propose also, insofar as we can, to help the cause of peace in the world. Obviously in doing so in the present context of

things, the more cooperation we receive from people of goodwill in other parts of the world it would be a great help to us.

The United States has achieved a tremendous position in the world today, and from that follows a tremendous responsibility. My own impression, if I may say so, is this: a large number of people in the United States are fully conscious of that responsibility and are eager and anxious to discharge it worthily. I think that is a very good sign for the world, if only we could get rid of this fear complex and face these other problems which we can solve, as there is no doubt about it that we can solve them. The world has enough resources in its hands today to solve those problems fairly rapidly, if only it would apply them to the right ends and not waste them in merely thinking and preparing for war and wasting the world's resources in going on adding to the weapons of destruction. If that is done, or even if a move is made in that direction, I think there would be a tremendous change in the whole atmosphere in the world. I thank you again for your welcome.

21. Impressions of the United States¹

My tour so far has been crowded with impressions. I was warned in India that you cannot know much about the U.S.A. unless you go to the Mid-West. Therefore I was eager to come to Chicago even for a short time.

As I came here this morning, I was asked about my impressions about America. But, even before I came here, I had formed certain impressions. These have not been greatly changed by what I have seen. I have been impressed by the extraordinary friendliness of the American people and their frank and generous appreciation of things.

It is not lack of unanimity that really matters. What is needed in the world today is a frankness of approach to things external and a desire to appreciate other people's point of view. In spite of the vast differences between India and America, there are many things which are similar between us and I am glad this is appreciated. So my predominant impression of America is the friendliness of its people.

Another thing is that the press has been exceedingly generous to me. I have been told that the pressmen could be really tough, but I have not encountered any offensiveness among them. There has indeed been some criticism of some of the things I have said and of what I had written, but I have been glad to read this criticism. That shows that there is frankness as well as a desire to understand. So my second major impression is the forthrightness and generosity of the press here.

1. Speech at a civic reception in Chicago, 27 October 1949. From *The Hindustan Times*, 28 October 1949.

A third thing that has impressed me is the abundance of food. In India we have cut down our menus and we are trying to prevent wastage of food. The abundance of food here is overwhelming. Having been accustomed to eat less in India, I am beginning to fear that the dinners I am having here may have an adverse effect upon me.

President Truman had described my visit as a voyage of discovery. I wish it to be a discovery of a more intimate kind, an understanding more of the mind and spirit of America than merely of formal things. It is important that India should know America and in the reverse process that America should know India. My object is that there should be both understanding and cooperation between India and America. I have found that my so-called education is totally inadequate. I have been learning a great deal since I came here, not about external aspects, but as to how the people feel and act.

I have dreamt of what India should be. Sometimes it is important to dream of such things. Sometimes a dream is realized to a certain extent.

India has had her problems in the past. The big problems that face us now do not frighten us. They will, on the contrary, serve as an incentive to greater effort. I have warned this generation of India that it is condemned to hard labour. We are determined to realize the rest of the dream as soon as possible.

22. A World Federation¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not like the idea of India or any country becoming a leader in such an effort, because thinking in that way brings difficulties and people react wrongly to it. But to say that India should work to its utmost capacity to that end, I can understand.

Robert Redfield: What is your opinion of the Marshall Plan?

JN: I think the Marshall Plan certainly helped certain countries in Europe greatly and also helped them to help themselves which is important. President Truman's Point-4 Programme also seems to me a very good method of approaching this problem to the extent of giving technical help to underdeveloped countries.

Q: Would you explain your statement that there really seems no alternative between world conquest and world association?

1. A broadcast discussion with Robert Redfield, Professor of Anthropology in the University of Chicago, 29 October 1949. From *The Hindustan Times*, 1 November 1949. The questions posed by Redfield have been summarized.

JN: Unless there is full cooperation between various parts of the world, there is likely to be conflict. In that sense it is difficult to avoid one of the two extreme things. Of course, the process of full cooperation may not be a very quick one, yet events are moving so rapidly that it becomes more and more necessary for world cooperation to develop. What form it may take, it is a little difficult to say. Obviously it cannot ignore the freedom of nations. It means ultimately certain forms of sovereignty might be given over to some central authority—world authority. But domestically, every country will be completely independent to follow any policy it chooses.

Q: Would you like to suggest some federal association in which nations would preserve their entities?

JN: Yes, if you like you can call it federal though to begin with the authority of that federal structure must be very limited. Gradually, as people get used to it, it might increase.

Q: What is your opinion about an Asian association of nations?

JN: Development in Asia has not proceeded very far, not as far as in Europe for instance. It is more on a mental plane, if I may say so, than on a practical plane. But I think it is very likely that regional associations might grow up. But Asia perhaps is too big an area for regional associations. It is much too big. South East Asia is a good area. Again there may be some kind of a closer association between all these regional areas.

Q: What would be India's future role in world affairs?

JN: Well, the future role, I hope would be to promote world cooperation.

Q: In that case do you think that India could become the leader or the headquarters of such an effort?

JN: I do not like the idea of India or any country becoming the leader in any such effort, because thinking in that way brings difficulties and people react wrongly to it. But to say that India should work to its utmost capacity to that end, I can understand. India has certain advantages in that she has no burdens from the past to carry. We have no enmities, no complications as other countries have, because of past history. Therefore, India, in a sense, is situated somewhat better to help in that process—but help in cooperation with others, with no claims to leadership.

Q: Is it not a paradox that the East being far behind the West in material values, is ahead in 'human' values?

JN: Now it is perfectly true that there is still, I think, a strong relation between these values in India, and I think it is there in the West too. We have poverty in the East and we have the necessity to acquire essentials of life. Also it is true that while material prosperity is necessary in India, the same value is not attached to it perhaps as in some other parts of the earth's surface. A man like Mahatma Gandhi—a man without possessions, title and authority, that is, any governmental authority or anything—can become a supreme leader in India alone.

23. An Age of Crisis¹

I am grateful to you, Sir,² and this great University, for the friendly and cordial welcome.

For nearly three weeks, I have been a wanderer in this vast country and have visited many great cities and famous universities. Wherever I have gone, I have received a wholehearted welcome and generous hospitality. I have met many of the leaders of this country; men and women who wield authority and shoulder responsibility in various phases of this great nation's activities. I have also had glimpses of many others who work in field or factory and are the backbone of the nation. I wish I could have more opportunities of meeting ordinary people and seeing them at work and at play. But my time was limited and so, regretfully, I had to deprive myself of this opportunity.

The President of the United States described my visit to this country in vivid language as a voyage of discovery. That description was true enough, as I had to learn and find out many things; and yet, how can any one discover this great country in three or four weeks? All my life I have been engaged in a quest—the discovery of my own country—India. During this life's journey of discovery, I have found much in my country that inspired me, much that interested me, and much that made me understand a little of what India was and is today. And yet India, with the weight of ages behind her, and with her urges and desires in the present, has only been partially discovered by me and I am continually finding out new facets of her many-sided personality that continually surprise me.

How then can I presume to discover this great country during a brief visit? And yet, even a brief visit may give some insight into the ideals and objectives

1. Address at the University of California, San Francisco, 31 October 1949. From the A.I.R. tapes and P.I.B.
2. Robert Sproul, President of the University.

and the springs of action of a nation. So, I made myself receptive in order to understand somewhat the spirit of America and the sources of the inner strength that have made her great. All the world sees, sometimes, perhaps, with a little envy, her great prosperity and the tremendous advance she has made in the application of science for human betterment. From that, all of us have much to learn; and yet, it was obvious to me that no great material advance could take place or could last long unless there were deeper foundations underlying it. The picture of the average American presented to the outside world is of a hard-headed, efficient and practical businessman, intent on making money and using that money to add to his power and influence. That picture, no doubt, has some truth in it. And yet there is another picture and, I think, a much more enduring one, of a warmhearted and very generous people, full of goodwill for others and with a firm belief in the basic principles on which this great Republic was founded—the principles of freedom, equality and democracy. It has been my good fortune to see this latter picture wherever I have gone and this has made me realize wherein lies the real strength of America. Everywhere I have found a love of freedom and a desire for peace and cooperation and among the people a frankness and human approach which make friendly understanding easy. Because of this approach I have also ventured to speak frankly what I had in my mind.

After spending some days on the east coast of this continental country, paying brief visits to the mid-west and having a glimpse of the south, I have now come to the western coast of America and to the famous and cosmopolitan city of San Francisco. I could not have gone back to India without visiting the west coast about which I had heard so much.

During these wanderings of mine, I have noticed the great variety of American life and at the same time the fundamental unity of it. I have been reminded again and again of my own country with its vast extent and its diversity and unity. The United States, astride between two great oceans, looks out to the east towards Asia. So also India has had many windows looking out at various parts of the great Asian continent. India has had close contacts with western Asia, central Asia, South-East Asia and the Far East. Geography has played a dominant part in the history and development of both the United States and India and will no doubt continue to influence considerably the course of events in the future. That influence is not so great today as it used to be, because of the tremendous developments of transport and communications which make every country almost a neighbour of another. The United States, by virtue of her origin and history, naturally looked towards Europe and only gradually spread towards the west because, for a long period, Europe was the principal centre of the world's activities.

A change of supreme importance has now come over the world scene and that is the renaissance of Asia. Perhaps, when the history of our times comes to be written, the re-entry of this old continent of Asia—which has seen so many ups and downs—into world politics will be the most outstanding fact of this and the next

generation. All the world is concerned with this but more particularly the United States, because of her geographical and pivotal position, apart from the great power that she wields in world affairs today.

The world is full of unsolved problems today; perhaps, all of them can be considered as parts of one single problem. This problem cannot be solved unless the full implication of the renaissance of Asia is kept in mind, for Asia will inevitably play an ever-growing part in world affairs. Asia, arrested in her growth, faces this world problem in two of its major aspects—political and economic. The political problem, that is, the achievement of political freedom, has a certain priority because without it no effective progress is possible. But owing to the delay in the achievement of political freedom, the economic problem has become equally important and urgent. National freedom is thus the first essential in Asia and, although most of the countries of Asia have achieved this, some still remain under colonial domination. These relics of foreign rule will have to go, giving place to national freedom, thus satisfying nationalism, which is the predominant urge of the Asian people. The economic betterment of the vast masses of Asia is equally essential, both from their point of view and from the point of view of world peace and stability. This will involve a progressive industrialization of these countries and in this the United States can play a vital role.

There is another danger point that is always to be borne in mind and that is racial discrimination and inequality. This is also a relic from the past, which has no place today and is naturally resented by those who suffer from it.

India is an ancient country with millennia of history behind her but she faces the world today as a young and dynamic nation. For thirty years she concentrated on her struggle for national freedom. And that struggle, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, was an unusual one. That great man, whom we call the Father of our Nation, gave some impress of his mighty personality to India and more especially to our generation. And so, today, as we look out upon the world and fashion our foreign policy, we are governed by some thing of that idealism as well as the realistic approach that Gandhi gave to our struggle. If India is to play any effective part in world affairs or even in her own development, she has to function in conformity with the ideals that she has held for these many years. Those ideals are essentially of peace and cooperation, of national freedom, of a growing internationalism leading to a world order, of equality among nations and people, and of the eradication of want and misery of the millions who suffer from it.

Mahatma Gandhi taught us to view our national struggle always in terms of the underprivileged and those to whom opportunity had been denied. Therefore, there was always an economic facet to our political struggle for freedom. We realized that there was no real freedom for those who suffered continually from want, and because there were millions who lacked the barest necessities of existence in India, we thought of freedom in terms of raising and bettering the lot of these people. Having achieved political freedom, it is our passionate desire to serve our

people in this way and to remove the many burdens they have carried for generations past. Gandhi said on one occasion that it was his supreme ambition to wipe every tear from every eye. That was an ambition beyond even his power to realize, for many millions of eyes have shed tears in India, in Asia, and in the rest of the world; and perhaps it may never be possible completely to stop this unending flow of human sorrow. But it is certainly possible for us to lessen human want and misery and suffering; and what are politics and all our arguments worth if they do not have this aim in view.

We live in an age of paradox and continuing crisis. We talk of peace and prepare for war. We discuss internationalism and One World and yet narrow nationalisms govern our activities. There is said to be a conflict of ideologies and this argument and the conflict that flows from it usually takes place without much thought of the ideals and objectives that should govern us. We move from one temporary expedient to another, never catching up with the pace of events. Priding ourselves on shaping history, we function from day to day as slaves of the events that inexorably unroll themselves before our eyes and fear possesses us and hatred follows in its train.

None of us, especially those who have to shoulder the burden of responsibility, can ignore the realities and dangers of the moment. We cannot live in an idealistic world of our own creation. What we consider the immediate reality might only be a passing phase and it may be that we have to look a little deeper in order to understand and control events. The world has made astonishing progress in technology and material advancement. That is all to the good and we must take full advantage of it. But the long course of history of human development shows us that there are certain basic truths and realities that do not change with the changing times and unless we hold fast to them, we are likely to go astray. The present generation has often gone astray in spite of all the wonderful accumulation of knowledge that we possess and danger always looms ahead.

What, then, is lacking and how can we solve these crises in human affairs? I am no prophet nor have I any magical remedy to suggest. I have tried to grope my way, to think straight and to coordinate, as far as possible, action and thought. I have often found it difficult to do so, for action on the political plane is not individual action but group and mass action. Nevertheless, I am convinced that any policy, any ideology, which ignores truth and character in human beings and which preaches hatred and violence, can only lead to evil results. However good our motives may be and however noble the objective we aim at, if the path we follow and the means we adopt are wrong and evil, we can never achieve that objective. If we seek peace we must labour for peace and not for war. If we seek harmony and goodwill among the various peoples of the world, we must not preach or practise hatred. It is true that there is plenty of violence and hatred in the world today and we cannot permit this to triumph, as we cannot submit to any aggression. We have to combat evil and aggression; in doing so, we have to remember not only our aims and objectives but also that the means we adopt should be in conformity with them.

The growth of modern civilization with its magnificent achievements has led more and more to the centralization of authority and power and encroachments continue to be made on the freedom of the individual. Perhaps, to some extent, this is inevitable, as the modern world cannot function without considerable centralization. We have seen, however, this process of centralized authority being carried to such an extreme that individual freedom almost vanishes. The State becomes supreme in everything or groups of individuals have so much concentrated power at their disposal that individual freedom tends to fade away. Different and sometimes hostile ideologies, from their respective points of view, encourage this concentration of power in the State or the group. This must ultimately result not only in human unhappiness but also in a lessening of that creative genius which is so essential for the growth of humanity. We have to find some balance between the centralized authority of the State and the assurance of freedom and opportunity to each individual.

This and the like problems will have to be solved in the minds of men before we can mould the shape of things to our liking. What more appropriate place can there be for the consideration of these problems than a university where the rising generation is being trained to take part in the business of life and to shoulder its burdens?

As I stand here in the beautiful campus of this university, surrounded by the peace and and beauty of nature and the genius of man, the conflicts and troubles of the world seem far away. The past crowds in upon me, the past of Asia, of Europe, and of America, and standing on this razor's edge of the present, I try to peep into the future. I see in this past the long struggle of man against adverse surroundings and in the face of innumerable difficulties. I see his repeated martyrdom and crucifixion but I see also the spirit of man rising again and again and triumphing over every adversity. Let us look at this perspective of history, gain wisdom and courage from it and not be oppressed too much by the burden of the past and of the present. We are the heirs of all these ages that have gone before us and it has been given to us to play our part during a period of great transition in this world. That is a privilege and a responsibility and we should accept it without fear or apprehension. History tells us of man's struggle for freedom and in spite of many failures his achievements and successes have been remarkable. True freedom is not merely political but must also be economic and spiritual. Only then can man grow and fulfil his destiny. That freedom has also to be envisaged today not merely in terms of group freedom often resulting in nations warring against one another but as individual freedom within free national groups in the larger context of world freedom and order. The problems of Asia, of Europe, and of America, can no longer be dealt with separately; they are parts of a single world problem.

The future appears to be full of conflict and difficulty but I have little doubt that the spirit of man, which has survived so much, will triumph again.

I thank you, again, Sir, Mr President, for your warm words of welcome.

over Kashmir is because of Pakistan's entry into the state without any legal or constitutional standing. It is nothing short of aggression. It was easy for us to attack the raiders' bases in Pakistan, but we did not do so. We went to the United Nations and made a very simple plea that Pakistan should be asked not to aid or abet the raiders. But the Security Council also did nothing for six months. Then Pakistan made a belated admission that its troops were in Kashmir but argued that they were there to protect their territory.

If we wanted to attack Pakistan we would not have done so through the roundabout and difficult terrain of Kashmir. Pakistan has built up large armies, both regular and irregular in Kashmir, and India went to Kashmir to drive away the aggressors. Pakistan has no right whatsoever to be there.

During my conversation with journalists in Ottawa I described Pakistan as a theocratic State. This term was challenged by a representative of the Pakistan's Government at Ottawa.³ He also questioned my statement that there is hardly any non-Muslim in high office in Pakistan. Whether Pakistan is a theocratic State or not, it is a fact that the spokesmen of Pakistan themselves describe it as an Islamic State. The Pakistani representative certainly caught me out when I said non-Muslim. I was referring to the local population and not to English officers and others in civil and military employ in Pakistan.

Still two other questions are pending between India and Pakistan. One relates to vast evacuee properties left in Pakistan and the other to the break-up of the irrigation system and the use of canal waters. I have suggested to Pakistan that they should agree to settle all these questions by peaceful and not by military means. But I have received no reply to that, and people in Pakistan continue to demand military action. This question about evacuee property and canal waters will not come up before the Security Council.

3. Mohammed Ali.

25. Problems of East and West¹

I am overwhelmed² but any person would have reacted like me to the extreme friendliness and cordiality I have met in America. Perhaps, I am more susceptible than others, but from my vast experience of public life in India I have developed a certain receptiveness as to the minds of the people.

1. Speech at a luncheon jointly hosted by the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, the World Trade Association, the World Affairs' Council and other political and economic organizations in California, San Francisco, 2 November 1949. From *The Hindustan Times*, 3 November 1949.
2. Elmer Robinson, the Mayor of San Francisco, had introduced Nehru as a "spirited, gallant fighter for the betterment of human society."

The main cause of the world's troubles today is the lack of human understanding. Politicians function in a sort of abstract vacuum, because they do not come into contact with the masses of the world to the extent warranted by their international decisions.

It is more important than ever today that there should be the human touch in solving human problems. There was a tendency to oversimplify issues. Attempts were sometimes made to solve questions without fully understanding them. The great diversity in human affairs misleads many people and they seek answers to questions which are not properly framed or defined in their minds. The great solvent of this difficulty has been the realization of the human bond and elimination of fear. A friendly approach to solve international problems, particularly those of Asia, counts ultimately.

It is wrong to think that simply because a person or a people are of a different culture or outlook, they are hostile. Scientific and technological advance has made the world a place of growing unity. That process should be left to take its course, rather than have regimentation whereby people will eat, drink, read and think in one way.

The diversified peoples of the United States and that of India are similar. India is an amalgamation of peoples and cultures from countries surrounding it. It also has its contacts with European culture. Both ancient and modern India are, therefore, a synthesis of the old and the new, but there is in the mind of India today some kind of conflict between the old and the new over synthesis.

In India there had been a great release of pent-up energy with the achievement of freedom. This is part of the renaissance of Asia where regions still under external domination are struggling to be free. It is in understanding the problems of Asia that the human touch is particularly important.

The wise general, especially if he finds the opposing side roughly matched, prefers "indirect attack" because direct attack would bring him into a head-on and unprofitable clash. As in war, so in peace, the indirect approach is important. Today the indirect approach is the intelligent approach, an intellectual and psychological approach, the friendly approach by one human being, or class of beings, to another.

The Americans should avoid crude methods in trying to win the friendship of India. All nations show sensitivity towards India, especially so, since it has recently achieved freedom. If your approach lacks sensitivity it will not work.

The major problem of the day for both the East and the West is to coordinate freedom and equality. The 19th century saw the rise of freedom, and the 20th century will be known principally as an era for the emergence of equality. Equality sometimes limits freedom, and a balance between the two must be found.

26. Peace the Main Objective¹

This is perhaps my last public address in the United States. During the last three weeks and a half, I have wandered about a great deal in this mighty country and have addressed great many audiences of all kinds. Now my tour is at the point of ending and I shall very soon go back to my own country. I feel a little sad at the ending of this adventurous and exciting visit of mine and yet, I have to go back because the pull of India is great, and the pull of the responsibility that fell on me is greater still. But I shall go back with regret and with innumerable memories which will remain in my mind for a very long time.

I came here, not with any ostensible object of doing a deal with anybody, but as I said on my arrival, to bring the greetings and goodwill of my people, and to try to learn as much as I could from this great country and her people. We stretched out our hand of fellowship to the people of the United States, and I have found that that hand has been held warmly and shaken by thousands of persons. Even if I had not been rather soft in this matter, even a hard-hearted person would have been moved by this cordiality of welcome and desire for friendship that I have found in this country. And it is because of this, more than because of the great sights and places I have seen in this country, that I shall go back with deep regret. If I may on this occasion, as it is my last public utterance, express my thanks, I would like to do so with all deference, first of all, to the President of the United States who was good enough and gracious enough to invite me to come to this great country, to the members of his Cabinet and Government, and to innumerable people of distinction who are not known so much to the public, and all of those who joined in welcoming me and treating me not only as an honoured guest but, if I may be permitted to say so, as a friend and a colleague.

I came here, partly I suppose, in my individual capacity, partly as Prime Minister of India, but also perhaps, I came here as something of a symbol of the new India. Because in some ways, I, as well as others, do symbolize that new India, that old and new country, and I have little doubt that whatever my merits or demerits might be, this visit of mine to the United States, has a much greater bearing than that of an individual coming here and meeting other individuals. It is symbolic, I think, of this great country of the modern world drawing closer together to a great country, not only of the ancient world but, I hope, of today also. And I have also no doubt that that must have had a considerable bearing on us and on others.

It came to my mind often during this tour, how history might have been affected if something had happened seven and a half years ago, which did not happen. It is rather foolish to think of what might have happened in the past. Still, one cannot

1. Speech at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, 4 November 1949. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L.

help doing that because it was just about seven and a half years ago, at a time of the great crisis in the world, and crisis in my own country, when an invitation came to me from President Roosevelt to visit this country. It was rather an informal invitation, and we were in great difficulties at that time in India. It was at a time, when a Mission from England had gone to India—Sir Stafford Cripps was the representative from the United Kingdom to us—to consider matters and discuss them with us. That Mission, unfortunately, failed to bring about any result, even though crisis of the day demanded some result.

It was at that time that I received a message from that great man, President Roosevelt, and I longed to meet him and to talk to him and to put to him what I had in my mind; but at the same time, I sensed that the situation in my country just at that moment was too difficult for me to leave. I hoped to be able to leave a little later, may be a few weeks, may be a month or two later. So I allowed that great opportunity to pass and I have regretted that so many times since then. Well, a few weeks passed, a month or two, and other changes took place in India, resulting in many of us in that country being confined and prevented from exercising our choice about our movements. So the opportunity of visiting the United States passed. Well, I could come now, but unhappily I can never meet that great man, who directed the fortunes of this country and moulded the fortunes of the world for many years, and that is a matter of great sorrow to me.

I have come here in many capacities; one among those capacities is that of a student. Circumstances have led me to become even more of a student in my later years, than I was in my younger years, and it is a fact that I had to become so. I was left to my own resources for many years of my life and could not do anything but study and let develop that frame of mind in me. But I am thankful for that because it has made my life much more interesting to me, not only the life of today, but the whole panorama of history that has passed and of human activity. It helps me sometimes to understand the present, but even more than understanding, it gives me a perspective which is enormously helpful when the burden of the moment oppresses one, because one sees that that particular burden of the moment is, after all, something not too big in that long perspective.

We have to live in the present and to shoulder the burdens of the present, but sometimes we are apt to forget that the relative importance of that present is not quite so great as we imagine it. Something that we may consider of extreme importance today, possibly five or ten years later you will not consider it very important. And so, looking at things in the longer perspective of history, the overall effect of the blows that one gets now is much lessened. Fortunately, I have developed that sense of history. I had, of course, in me somewhere, if not in the conscious self, but in my subconscious, all the racial memories of thousands of years of India's history, that is both good and bad. It certainly is good, but it certainly is also bad, because it is a terrible burden to carry all that. But good or bad, we are all

inheritors of these traditions, and we have to accept them. We can certainly lay stress on the good and try to forget the bad.

So with all this background I face the present and the immediate past. And in these years that have passed, I lived very much, shall I say was influenced, and even if I may say so, under some kind of domination of a very great man—Mahatma Gandhi. I, in common with millions of my countrymen, was powerfully impressed by his personality and by what he told us to do. For thirty years nearly, we functioned under that spell. We grew up under it, our country grew up, and on the whole that country achieved something under his guidance which was very remarkable.

I do not pretend to say that the people in India are any better in any respect than people anywhere else. Sometimes, it is said that, well, the Indian people may be backward in technology and science and modern forms of progress, but they are very spiritual and metaphysical and all that. Well, I do not hold to that at all. I do think that India has a philosophical tradition of depth which has lasted for thousands of years. I do think that India has a certain basic cultural background which has withstood the impact of ages, and the impact of all kinds of upheavals. Read India's history and you will find disaster after disaster, good periods too,—of course—great periods, yet India is almost the only country which in spite of political crisis, weaknesses and disaster, managed to continue, to carry on a certain continuity of its cultural tradition. There was something basically strong about India which did not break up, in spite of those disasters. I am not going into what this basically strong thing was, but I think the long course of history does show us that there was some foundation which subsisted and which prevented it from going to pieces, in spite of all the efforts to the contrary. I was interested in this, and so, being interested in this phenomenon, I tried, what I called, to discover India and I even ventured to write a book about my voyage of discovery. But the more I tried to discover India, the more I found that it eluded me. I found many aspects of her rich personality, but more and more aspects appeared which I did not know; and I was, and I am being continually surprised at something that I find there. So having spent a good part of my life in this attempt to discover my own country, and not wholly succeeding, you can imagine that I would not presume to discover suddenly any other country in a few weeks' tour. Nevertheless, I find that many people do expect me to do that, as many people expect and indeed think that they have discovered India after a few weeks' tour.

But it was not mere curiosity that led me to try to find out what India was, and is, and it was not mere curiosity that leads me to try to understand the springs of action and the basic strength of the United States. It was ultimately a desire to understand, to find out how I should act in the present. I have got to act in the present. Problems appear before us and we approach them through our minds and through the intellect. We arrive at certain decisions in the mind. We have certain urges too, but then another difficulty comes.

How to translate that mental decision into action? An individual, perhaps to a certain extent, may act as he chooses within his strict limitations. But when you are concerned with a large number of human beings, with a country, with masses of individuals, then it becomes a much more difficult task. Because it is not merely what you think right that you can make them do, but what you can make them understand, that is right. In other words, suppose you perceive a certain thing which you consider the truth and you want to follow the path of truth. You may within limitations follow it, because you are hemmed in by all kinds of limitations, by society which puts limits upon you, when you want to move masses of human beings, when you function in public affairs. Then you can only make others to function to an extent upto which they are receptive to the truth or to the basic policy, that you think should be pursued. So there is always a conflict. The first conflict, what to do; the second, how to do it, and how to make others to do it.

The first question is basic enough, and I was not satisfied and I am not satisfied today at the rather simple and naive ways of deciding quickly what one must do in the immediate present. A crisis arises, political, and economic, and we get excited. With apprehension we rush about from place to place, not only physically, but mentally and do something. I am afraid my whole background does not fit in with that kind of thing, although I am not considered a very static person. Nevertheless, I do not see why I should allow my mind to rush about in this way. So, in trying to find out what the basic problem is, I have to look to the yesterdays of that problem and to the possible tomorrows of my action. Today is not enough, and it is because of this, this desire to find out how I should think, and how I should adapt my thought to action, that I tried to discover my own country first, because I had to deal with the masses of people in my country, because I wanted to understand their background. You may think, and you will be right in saying that, well, eighty per cent or seventy-five per cent of the Indian people are illiterate. True, they are. We hope that illiteracy will disappear soon. It will take a little time because of the vast numbers involved, but anyhow we are determined to put an end to it. Not only to put an end to illiteracy, but to do very much more in regard to their education. Because my own experience is that a smattering of literacy makes a person even more uneducated than the uneducated and the illiterate. So I, having to deal with these large numbers of people, the masses, and having had the enormous honour and privilege of gaining somewhat their affection and their trust; it was a tremendous burden and a great responsibility. And so, I tried to find out, when I saw specially that in the context of the modern world, it was difficult to decide anything, considering India in isolation from the rest of the world. Vast problems were arising. I had to think and try to understand the rest of the world both historically, that is, the historical background to some extent, and culturally and otherwise. And so I carry on as a student and I shall carry on for a long time.

I was happy when I was invited by this University of Wisconsin, because, unfortunately my visit has been largely taken up by people of another kind, if

I may say so; very interesting people, very important people, but nevertheless, sometimes not quite so interesting. I have had the privilege on two or three occasions of addressing university audiences and I enjoyed them greatly. I like the idea of my last public appearance, if I may say so, being to the university audience. Now there is so much that I might perhaps talk to you, because I am eager to exchange what I have in my mind, and what you have in yours. But I am afraid that cannot be done. So there are some aspects to which I should like to draw your attention which might perhaps lead to a trend of thoughts in your minds.

We talk a great deal about East and West and Orient and Occident. Of course, coming here to the United States, this business of East and West gets rather complicated, because Asia is to your west, you call it east and I have just come yesterday from Vancouver, which is still more nearer Asia, and to which Asia is very much to west. If any of you have read—which probably you have not—the old books the Chinese wrote about India the old Chinese always referred to India as the western land. Naturally, because India was to west of China. They called it the western land, it was the west for them. So we have got very confused with these conceptions of East and West.

There are, of course, certain national characteristics which great countries or small countries possess. India has definitely certain characteristics, call it national, call it what you like, a certain individuality, with all its background etc. It is not a static thing; it is a changing thing. It has changed as numerous people have come and numerous ideas have come. It is gradually changing, yet fundamentally, there is something which continues in it, which I think, is specifically true of India.

It just does not matter whether India is split up into Pakistan and India, because that commonness remains in both parts, because they have both inherited it. China has it, whatever changes may take place in China, China has had probably the most powerful individuality as any country and its, people have had.

Like other great countries of Europe, in America also you have developed it, and that is so. But to talk vaguely of East and West, I think, is completely wrong and confusing. The real change took place, you might say, at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. When the Industrial Revolution started first in England, spread to Europe and America, it put an end to the agrarian, fundamentally agrarian forms of system existing previously. As countries became industrialized and as they applied more and more science to their undertakings, they changed. Even their mental habits of work and thoughts began to change considerably and a big gap and hiatus appeared between the fundamentally agricultural and agrarian countries and the industrialized countries. People began to think that industrialization should be associated with the West, more or less, and a country which is basically agricultural is in the East. The latter was so, of course, in the long perspective of history. The period of industrialization is a very small one, say two hundred years or three hundred years at the most, if you like. It is just a tiny page in the book of history, but although it is a tiny page, it has made a tremendous difference obviously, and is making

a difference. Now, ever since the beginning of this period of industrialization, many things happened, many revolutionary changes took place. At first probably, people did not attach too much importance to it, but it stepped in gradually.

Now, large parts of the world remained agricultural though the Industrial Revolution spread in parts of the world. The other parts of the world, were gradually affected, rather passively by it. Various economies arose and the national economies were based on that. As this Industrial Revolution has spread to other countries, their economies have been affected. Now that, it is spreading, more or less to the remaining parts of the earth's surface, it is affecting the world greatly. You may analyse the present day in many ways, but one way is to look upon it as a period.

When Asia is being industrialized, consider the consequences of that on the world. Well, there is no doubt that Asia is being industrialized and will be industrialized. What will be the consequences of that? I do not see, why anyone should be afraid of those consequences. There is no question of fearing them or expecting that to result in any upsetting of another nation's economy, because the industrialization of any one country really should add to the world's wealth, the world's trade and commerce, and to higher standards everywhere. There is no need why anybody should be depressed, because some other place goes up in the scheme of things.

But this is one of the basic things that is happening, the spread of industrialization to Asia, and because of that you get a new balance. You might say, industrialism has functioned in the past many years, ever since England first came into the field. If you go back to history, the Industrial Revolution in England started, of course, because of the inventive genius and ingenuity, and spirit of adventure and all that, of the British people, but it was very greatly helped by their possession of India just at that time. It was helped in terms of actual gold and silver, it was helped by providing them with a protective policy, by cheap raw materials and a protective market for their manufactured goods. They got a tremendous push that way. Now, in a sense, you might say, the industrialized world had these large open markets elsewhere which were not industrialized.

Now, that is changing. When all the world is industrialized, you do not function in exactly the same way as when half is industrialized and half is not. That is an important development among many other important developments of the day. I do not wish you to attach too much importance to it, but that is a factor, which I feel is not sufficiently realized. A slightly upsetting factor, upsetting only in the sense of the people whose minds have functioned in certain ruts, and who think that their minds will not understand the new changes that are taking place. Now it is an extraordinary thing that the whole advancement of man, I take it, is due to the mind of man. It is a wonderful thing, the mind of man, which has brought about all this great progress during thousands of years and yet, oddly enough, the mind of man often lags behind the pace of events, the pace of actual material changes. In this country you have made unparalleled advance in technology and

in the applications of science. In other countries too, in many countries, much progress has been made. We live in an age which obviously tends to become more and more unified, more and more constricted, more and more limited with the spread of communications, and transport systems and yet we are still in our respective countries, often enough, exceedingly nationalistic in the narrowest sense. Nationalism is a good thing. I am not decrying the normal type of nationalism. But when it becomes narrow and very restricted, it is not too good.

So, while everything, your technological advance etc., makes for the one world or world order, our minds have not quite advanced sufficiently to appreciate that, and we function in a narrow sphere. If I may take you back to another kind of historical parallel: you know about the French Revolution, and the American Revolution having taken place, and for the whole of the nineteenth century in Europe the ideals of the French Revolution were normally the ideals of the liberals, the radicals and the like. In Europe, there were repeated revolutions to realize them in 1848 and subsequently and before that. While people were thinking on those lines, actually what was happening was the spread of the Industrial Revolution which people did not quite grasp. Things were changing, although they themselves were changing them and living under the change. Mentally they were living in the atmosphere of the French Revolution, while actually Europe had passed beyond it in many ways, at least in parts of Europe. So the mind did not catch up with the pace of events and what is happening today again is that your progress, the world's progress, in technology and other things, is faster. Although it comes out of the mind of man, yet it is faster than mental adaptation to that progress, which is extraordinary. It is really very strange, how slow the mind of man is to change, which accepts things and lives up to them. But it does not change with them until it is forced to change, sometimes by a rather rude kick. I do not myself see why we should be afraid of what is happening in the world today.

Problems are difficult. We have had in the past generation two great Wars. It is a terrible thing and it is easy enough for us to blame this party or that party. And these are no doubt to blame, but fundamentally it is the failure of the generation, this past generation, and are we going to repeat that? It is an awful thought. Well, we are trying to avoid that and we should try to avoid and think about it, but think about it not in terms of immediate expediency and with a sense of fear. Do this, not that, escape this, but think in a calm, poised way; think in basic terms and think with a certain self-confidence and faith. Not to be hurried and flurried by any odd thing that happens or by any irritation that is offered, and apply fundamentally your mind as to how peace can be kept, and not merely how to avoid just a petty danger today. Whatever the consequence, remember this finally, that we must keep objective clearly before us.

Now, to give an example of war and peace, you fight a war to gain certain objectives. Now among those, you have to fight the war because the enemy comes in the way of your gaining those objectives. Therefore, you have to defeat it to

gain your objectives. But in the course of the war you almost forget the objectives and the only objective that remains is defeating the enemy. That is not the true objective. Defeating the enemy was the step towards your gaining the objective. If you forget the real objective, the result is that when you have defeated the enemy, you have not achieved the objective in view and you get into trouble again. Now that is a very obvious thing. Nevertheless, what is obvious is often forgotten.

Personally, if I may repeat to you, what I have said elsewhere, in all these years of thought and action, and activity and inactivity, and passivity, more and more I have been drawn to the basic lesson of Mahatma Gandhi and that was this—that means are always as important as the ends. That is that it is not good enough for you to have a good end in view. The means you adopt to reach that end are at least as important, because if you adopt the wrong means, the evil means, to attain a good end, the evil means do not lead you to good ends at all. They will lead you somewhere else. This is an important thing to remember.

I know all this is very difficult; these moral precepts, they sound very good, but they are rather difficult to practise. Nevertheless, I think that if they are kept in view, and if one tries one's hardest to function along those lines, then I think one reaps a rich harvest.

May I again thank you for your welcome, your courtesy, and through you, may I again thank the people of the United States.

27. To Harry S. Truman¹

New York
November 6, 1949

My dear Mr President,

I am leaving the United States tomorrow on my way back home. On the eve of my departure, I must again convey to you my deep gratitude for your great kindness and hospitality. I have spent three and a half weeks in this great and wonderful country and have been greatly impressed by what I have seen and heard. Above all I have been moved by the generous and warm-hearted welcome that I have received everywhere from all classes of people and the goodwill that has been shown not only to me but to my country also. I am sure that my people have also been moved, as I have been, and that this visit of mine has led to a deeper understanding between our respective countries leading to closer bonds in future.

1. Harry S. Truman Library Papers.

For all this I am greatly beholden to you, Mr President, and to your Government. The arrangements made for my rapid and extensive tour in this vast country were perfect and, because of this, I was enabled to visit many important cities and institutions as well as some rural areas. I shall carry back with me unforgettable impressions and memories of this visit of mine to the United States and of the great generosity and warm-heartedness of the people here.

With my high regards for Mrs Truman,² and assuring you, Mr President, of my respect and high consideration. I am,

Very sincerely yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Elizabeth Virginia Wallace.

28. To Louis A. Johnson¹

New York
November 6, 1949

My dear Louis,²

I am leaving tomorrow for India after a wonderful and exciting tour of the United States. I had expected much from this country but my expectations were exceeded. I am very grateful to you for all the trouble you took to make this visit of mine a success. Your personal aircraft that you placed at my disposal made travelling not only speedy but a luxury. My visit to Hot Springs and White Sulphur, where I met so many Americans distinguished in various fields of national activity, was, as I said then, one of the highlights of my tour and I am carrying away an unforgettable impression of it.³ I have received kindness everywhere and I have been deeply moved by it. But more particularly your friendship is precious and all that you have done for me here has affected me greatly. I am convinced that my visit will yield rich results in closer bonds being established between the United States and India. The main purpose of my visit has thus been fulfilled and I return with a regret at leaving the United States, but also with a certain feeling of satisfaction at having succeeded in my primary objective.

As usual with you, you have been over-generous and have sent me two very valuable presents. I have received the gold lighter and the camera. Anything that

1. Harry S. Truman Library Papers.

2. He was the U.S. Secretary of Defence at this time.

3. Nehru visited these places during his two-day visit to West Virginia from 28 to 30 October.

you send is naturally very welcome for your sake. I confess, however, that I seldom use such articles and they do not easily fit in with my routine in life, but your friendly and kindly thought in sending these valuable gifts to me is something that has importance for me and that moves me.

I hope you will remember my invitation to you to visit India. You will be very welcome there.

Very sincerely yours,
Jawaharlal

29. To Louis A. Johnson¹

New York
November 7, 1949

My dear Louis,

By some odd mistake I saw your letter of November 2nd after I had written to you last night. I was happy to receive your letter. Need I say again what a great delight it has been to meet you again as well as to meet your charming wife.² We met after seven years. The thread was broken last time and much happened. We have picked it up again and we shall hold it fast and may our meetings be much more frequent.

With my affectionate regards, to you and your wife,

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. Harry S. Truman Library Papers.
2. Ruth F. Maxwell.

30. End of the Visit¹

It has nearly been a month and during this period I have had a wonderful and exciting time.

1. Press Conference on the day of departure from the United States, New York, 7 November 1949. From *The Hindu*, 8 November, *The Hindustan Times*, 8 November and the *National Herald*, 9 November 1949.

I think, personally, I have profited from it. I do not know who else has profited from it. I am going away this afternoon, and I wish to say goodbye to all of you.

I think whatever else might happen as a result of my visit, it will undoubtedly result in greatly improved relations between India and the United States, that is, improvement in a rather fundamental way, in the sense that there will be greater understanding and friendly approach on all questions on both sides.

I express deep gratitude to the President of the United States and to the United States Government for the very generous hospitality and all the arrangements that were made for my visit to various parts of the country.

I also thank the people of the United States for the friendly sentiments that have been expressed to me wherever I have gone. Everywhere they were exceedingly friendly, hospitable and generous.

I am going back because I must go back, as I have work to do. It is with a deep feeling of regret that I am going back.

Question: When do you expect the first consignment out of the one million tons of wheat that India has asked from the United States?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not the least notion, because as far as I know, these matters are under discussion and no final decision has yet been reached.²

Q: What are the prospects of a trade agreement between India and the United States?

JN: A trade and friendship agreement had for sometime been discussed between India and the United States, but these things take time.

Q: Is India going to invite foreign capital?

JN: Development would be slow if India depended only on domestic capital. There has recently been a shift-over in the income groups in India. Those who used to invest money have less money in their hands now and money has been spread out into the hands of a larger number of people who are not familiar with investing their money.

Q: What do you think of the political future of such North African colonies as Tunisia and Algeria? What advice could you offer to the people of those countries?

2. Though the response for the wheat loan was sympathetic, yet there was a great delay in the official sanction due to several legislators in the U.S. House of Representatives and the Senate opposing the grant.



HOST TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN AT THE INDIAN EMBASSY, WASHINGTON, 15 OCTOBER 1949



LAYING A WREATH AT THE ROOSEVELT CEMETERY, HYDE PARK, NEW YORK, 16 OCTOBER 1949



RECEIVING AN HONORARY DEGREE AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK, 17 OCTOBER 1949



WITH ALBERT EINSTEIN, PRINCETON, 5 NOVEMBER 1949

JN: You can hardly expect me to advise these countries without going into all the facts. It is my belief that all these countries of North Africa should be independent, but whether they should be separately independent or should federate is a question for them to decide.

It should be remembered, however, that for very small countries independence is nominal because they can be neither economically self-sufficient nor politically strong. Therefore, the question of each such country has to be considered in the light of its circumstances.

Q: Would the assassin of Mahatma Gandhi be hanged?

JN: I am glad you raised this question. Only yesterday I received a letter from some prominent Americans on this subject. I want to be quite frank with you, and shall express my difficulties.

For some years past in India there has been a demand for the abolition of the death penalty. So long as that demand has not been given effect to, I do not see how we hang so many others who commit murders, and make an exception in the case of a man who kills our greatest leader.

On the wider issue of capital punishment, India would probably be in favour of its abolition. But meanwhile, it did not seem logical merely because a person killed an outstanding personality, he should receive different treatment from one who killed an ordinary man.

Long ago, I had my personal reactions when I was in prison. From what I had seen, I would much sooner be hanged than suffer life imprisonment.

Q: Had not Mahatma Gandhi himself been against hanging?

JN: Gandhiji was not only against the death penalty but even against imprisonment itself. You cannot expect that his principles should be adopted just in one case and not in the case of others.

Q: Are there any last-minute changes in your views on the proposed South East Asia Union?

JN: Nothing has happened in the United States or in South-East Asia for a revision of the views I have already expressed. So far as closer cooperation between the countries of South-East Asia is concerned, it is obviously desirable.

In Indo-China, no settlement imposed by an outside power can work in that country. A settlement is possible only when it is based on the goodwill of the vast majority of the people.

A resolution had been passed in the South-East Asia Conference³ held in

3. See *Selected Works*, Vol. 9 (Second Series), pp. 165-181.

Delhi, on which all countries were agreed. It was the feeling at that time that Asia was too big and too varied a problem. The problems of western Asia and South-East Asia were different. So it was felt that there might be regional cooperation in regard to certain problems and general cooperation where necessary.

India's position was peculiar in this matter. India came into the picture in relation to western, south eastern and other Asiatic countries.

Take Indonesia, for instance. I hope that things there will lead to a settlement. Until the situation is cleared up, we cannot go very far in fuller cooperation on common policies. In the main it means that our immediate relations must be in the region of consultations and cultural cooperation.

Q: How does India view Mahatma Gandhi's policy of nonviolence in the present context?

JN: The nonviolent movement was directed against British rule. It ended with the end of British rule, but Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence continues.

Mahatma Gandhi was a pacifist, but he was not a passive pacifist. He was a pacifist of the dynamic type. If he wanted freedom for India, he wanted freedom to be achieved through dynamic pacific methods.

Q: Why are the trade unionists being arrested in India?

JN: So far as I know, no person was imprisoned there simply because he was a trade unionist. Arrests had been made because of connections with violent activities and intended sabotage.

There had been plenty of open appeal for sabotage in India. I do not think you will find any country, including the United States, where there is so much freedom of expression in the press. Where there are appeals to violence and actual violence, no Government can tolerate it unless it is prepared to abdicate responsibility.

The appeal to violence and sabotage had come at a time when certain railway unions had refused to obey the mandates of their own leaders. The disorganization of communications was even deliberately intended to disrupt food supplies to needy provinces. Therefore, it was decided to arrest the leaders of the strike-plus-sabotage movement. Most of the persons who have been detained without trial in India were not Communists but their opposite members, namely, communal agitators.

Q: Would India develop cultural and trade relations with the new regime in China?

JN: India and China are not only neighbours, but they are two huge areas of the earth. Although there is not much trade between them now, we cannot ignore what is going on in China today.

Q: Would India recognize the Communist Government in China?

JN: We are intensely interested in what is happening there.

Q: Would India recognize Israel?

JN: The Government of Israel was not something that was in doubt, but a continuing fact. The Indian Government was very well aware of this, although there had been no formal recognition by India. Israel was participating in the United Nations and other activities as a regular State.

There was no anti-Semitic feeling in India. India had friendly relations both with the Jews and the Arabs.

Q: What is your general impression of the Americans?

JN: The Americans are a fascinating people. I found them a curious mixture of hard-headedness and sentimentalism.

Q: What is India's food position at present?

JN: India has to make up a deficit of ten per cent in her food requirements and she will do so by the end of 1951, mainly by increasing the productivity of the soil.

Within the next five or six years the great multi-purpose projects which India has in hand will give the country a surplus in foodgrains. The present difficulties are due to the fact that the 200 million peasants of India are able to eat just a little bit more of the grain they cultivated than they were able to do in the past.

This in itself was a good thing. Generally speaking, the peasantry of India is better off today than for generations past. Formerly they were on the verge of starvation.

Q: Do you think that the Kashmir problem can be solved amicably within the framework of the United Nations?

JN: Yes. The Indian Government has repeatedly put it to Pakistan that whatever the form of eventual settlement, this and other disputes between them must be settled by peaceful means.

Q: Would India develop special trade relations with the so-called Eastern Democracies?

JN: India had its trade and diplomatic officials in other countries. We are not considering any trade relations on an ideological basis with countries such as

Czechoslovakia and others. Trade is limited with them because it is conditioned by the past. Moreover, due to the devaluation, we are more and more compelled to trade within the sterling area. These are some of the limitations, but there are no political considerations whatever governing our trade with other countries.

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IN NORTH AMERICA

III. Canada

1. India, North America and the United Nations¹

Blair Fraser²: Mr Nehru, one of the things that is always said about your autobiography is the extraordinary lack of bitterness that it shows considering all that you had gone through during the period previous to the liberation of India. Is this a wide belief in India or is there still prejudice against the West as a result of your experience?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, the whole teaching and outlook of our great leader Mahatma Gandhi was directed to the removal of any bitterness and to consider these questions impersonally and not against any nation or against any people or individuals. That has had a great effect. Then the manner of our coming to an agreement with the United Kingdom did credit to both parties and it is a very significant fact that this bitterness which existed partly before, is infinitely less now. Of course, the suspicion that something may happen creates this kind of bitterness for a while, but on the whole it may be said, that all over India, there is exceedingly little bitterness.

BF: You feel, then, that at the moment the entire people of India are loyal and friendly, cooperative members of the Commonwealth of Nations?

JN: Nobody can talk about the entire people. I can talk about a general tendency, and there is very little bitterness against the United Kingdom or the Commonwealth.

BF: How about your relations with this North American continent? Do you expect any tangible results from your visit?

JN: My main purpose in coming here was really to make a visit of goodwill and to meet old friends and make new friends, because obviously North America counts tremendously in world affairs. Also, I think, there can be dealings to our mutual advantage, more specially, in regard to the development of Indian industry and matters of technical assistance.

Q: You expect, for example to work out new trade arrangements with Canada and the United States as a result of your trip.

JN: I am not personally dealing with any such matters. These are normally dealt with by our Ambassadors.

1. Interview given to Blair Fraser for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Ottawa, 24 October 1949, Columbia Broadcasting System Discs, N.M.M.L.
2. (1909-1968); worked with several newspapers in Canada.

BF: I see, Mr Nehru, today it is the United Nations Day and I believe only yesterday or the day before India was elected a member of the Security Council. Have you anything to say about the United Nations and its future?

JN: Yes. Today we may consider it as a significant day in history. However much we may criticize the United Nations the obvious fact is that there is such a thing as the United Nations working for peace and cooperation among the nations. The Charter of the United Nations is very vaguely worded and even though it may not come up to all expectations, it is very objective and ideal. The United Nations is not only desirable but essential to the modern world. I am quite sure that ultimately we have to move towards some kind of one-world idea. In spite of all the difficulties that we may have today, the United Nations ultimately represents that one-world idea, of ever greater cooperation between the nations and thus solving the world's problems. So it is significant and I should like to send my greetings to the United Nations, and all those who believe in it today.

2. To Vallabhbhai Patel¹

Ottawa, Ontario
October 24, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have not written to you since I came here partly because I thought that the Indian press would be giving you a full account of my tour. I have now finished nearly half of my tour. I feel rather exhausted as I have had physically a rather trying time. I am here in Ottawa for two days. There are many engagements here also but the pace is slower and the weather here is cold and bracing which I like. I shall, therefore, revive a little here before I go back to the United States day-after-tomorrow.

This visit and tour of mine has been rather extraordinary. I knew that I would receive a welcome, but the quality and extent of that welcome both in the United States and Canada have been rather overwhelming. Apart from official welcomes, the people generally have been very friendly and demonstrative. They have collected in the streets to see me and cheer me. Unfortunately I am so full of official engagements that I cannot see the common folk very much as I would have liked to have done.

1. File No.49-GG/49, President's Secretariat.

What the result of my visit is likely to be I cannot definitely say, except that it has produced and will produce a great feeling of interest and friendliness towards India and desire to cooperate with her. Even in business and financial circles there is undoubtedly a strong desire to cooperate. Naturally this is not for any pure humanitarian reason. Whatever it is, it is likely to prove helpful. I cannot naturally enter into detailed discussions with the people here. My chief business is to create a favourable atmosphere and friendly feelings. That I have done to a remarkable degree. I have done so without making any commitments on our part and always maintaining India's dignity and independence. Deshmukh² and others can now carry on.

Intellectual circles in America have been rather moved by my visit and some of my speeches, especially at Columbia University,³ have created some kind of a stir and I have received letters from important persons in various walks of life expressing their great appreciation of what I have said. It was something slightly new, or at any rate, it was put in a new way.

Among other things, I have been charged with the selection and engagement of a Chief Engineer for the Damodar Valley Corporation. Some names have been suggested and the State Department had also recommended a name, one General Wanamaker. I have gone into this matter fairly thoroughly but without any result thus far. I saw Wanamaker and was not greatly impressed by him although no doubt he is a good engineer. If we do have to engage a Chief Engineer for the Damodar Valley, he must be an outstanding man with wide experience of big multi-purpose projects. Apart from engineering ability he must have a wide outlook which can take in various problems at the same time and coordinate them. I then consulted Lilienthal,⁴ the man who built up the Tennessee Valley. He did not think much of Wanamakar or some other names given by the State Department. He now recommended three persons to me, one of them being an American who was in India till about two years ago or more and took part in preparing the Damodar Valley project. He left us because there was no agreement then about what we should pay him. Gadgil⁵ no doubt knows all about him. This question of payment, of course, is a difficult one because it has to be in dollars and everything has gone up. I am myself convinced and others here agree with me that it is necessary for us to have a first-rate man from America as an overall Chief Engineer for the Damodar Valley. Such a man may well save us crores in the end and expedite the whole scheme. I am sending Bajpai⁶ to interview Lilienthal in Washington to

2. C.D. Deshmukh was, at this time, the Financial Representative of India in Europe and U.S.A. with the rank of Ambassador at large.

3. See *ante*, pp. 314-320.

4. David E. Lilienthal (1899-1981); Director, Tennessee Valley Authority, 1933-41, and its Chairman, 1941-46; Chairman, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, 1946-50.

5. N.V. Gadgil.

6. G.S. Bajpai.

discuss this matter further. Deshmukh is also seeing Lilienthal. Before I return, perhaps, we might make some more progress.

I am almost completely cut off from India and do not know what is happening there. But I do not worry about that at all.

I am not writing to anyone else in India. Perhaps you might send copies of this letter to Rajaji, Matthai and Gadgil.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

3. India's Problems¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, gentlemen, what have you got to ask?

Question: Can you tell us your impressions of Canada?

JN: How can I have any impressions yet when I got here only last night?

Q: Leaders are struck by the extraordinary lack of bitterness that you showed towards Britain in your Autobiography. Do you think this lack of bitterness is typical among the people of India today or at least among your colleagues, among the country's leaders?

JN: I think there is very little ill will towards Britain. There is a certain amount of suspicion. If anything untoward were to happen people would say, ah, there is the perfidious West again. On the whole, there is extraordinarily little bitterness.

For this, the chief credit is due to the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi who taught us to fight foreign domination, but not to fight any nation or people. That lesson is so well implanted that it is amazing how quickly bitterness has vanished away.

Again, we have had a curious development. On the one hand, we have been fighting for freedom, and on the other hand, we have been under the influence

1. Press Conference, Ottawa, 24 October 1949. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

of British culture, British literature, education, law and political institutions which bring us nearer the British way of doing things.

Q: How many years have you spent in jail in the fight for liberation?

JN: I do not remember. I have seen all kinds of statements. One hard-working student in U.S. has calculated that I had spent eight years in prison in all.² I am willing to accept that.

Q: Why had India decided to stay in the Commonwealth?

JN: We have a certain approach to things—the legacy of Mahatma Gandhi, who always emphasized the cultivation of good relations whenever possible. Also we felt it a good thing in a world of tensions to keep as many spheres of cooperation going as possible. Thirdly, our economy is closely tied up with Britain's and cooperation is helpful to us and to Britain.

Q: What is India's stand on Kashmir?

JN: I dislike discussing Pakistan in other countries and do not want to go out of my way to say anything about any other country. Discussing Kashmir would involve Pakistan. Public memory is short, even newspaper memory. How did the Kashmir question begin?

The British withdrawal had been generous and good but the British statement about the Indian states was dangerous and might have produced an extraordinary situation. The states were encouraged to believe that they could exist as independent kingdoms.

Fortunately, within a matter of months, the princely states began to collapse. This showed that the whole structure had been artificial and sustained only by the British authorities. It showed how unreal the states were.

Kashmir was one of India's frontier areas. For the past nineteen years there had been a popular movement in Kashmir against the Maharaja. I was in it from the start, partly because it was part of an all-India movement in the princely states of which I was the President, and partly because I am myself a Kashmiri.

This movement became one of the strongest of any in the princely states and three years ago there was a big drive against this movement. When I went there the Maharaja arrested me.³ This was three months before I became Minister for External Affairs.

At the time of the Partition of India, realizing the situation, the Indian Government had adopted a policy of going slow in Kashmir. Then they heard that

2. In fact, nine years, two months and seventeen days.

3. On 19 June 1946. See *Selected Works* (First Series), Vol. 15, pp. 381-383.

Kashmir had been invaded from Pakistan territory, and looting and kidnapping of women was going on. This was a tremendous crisis for Kashmir and for the Government of India. War with Pakistan seemed to be inevitable if this sort of thing went on. Motor transport belonging to the invaders carried the slogan 'To Kashmir and Delhi'. Finally, a message came from Kashmir asking for help and offering accession to India. India sent help by air.

India protested against Pakistan's aid to the invaders. Pakistan denied giving help absolutely. India learnt that people in Pakistan were organizing the invasion and also that Pakistan forces were in action.

An undeclared war was developing and India went to the U.N. which talked for six months before sending a commission. Pakistan, now for the first time, admitted having regular troops in Kashmir. Pakistan had built up irregular 'Azad Kashmir' and regular troops into a powerful force of thirty-two battalions and any plan for withdrawing regular Pakistan forces was of no avail if the irregulars built up by Pakistan were not simultaneously disbanded and disarmed. There was the threat to the peace of the country and there could be no real plebiscite while large numbers of potential voters who had been driven out of their homes were afraid to return and were in terror of their lives.

India was ready for a plebiscite subject to certain conditions. We call this brutal aggression. We do not accept being put on par with Pakistan in this dispute. We are there legally. Pakistan has no position there of any type or shape.

India has thirty-five million Muslims and Pakistan fifteen million non-Muslims. The population of Kashmir consists of eighty per cent Muslims and twenty per cent Hindus. The popular movement in Kashmir is representative of all classes but predominantly Muslim. I have been the President of the All-India States People's movement⁴ and the present Premier of Kashmir⁵ has succeeded me.

We refuse to accept the two-nation theory—the theory that a man's nationality depends on his religion. We in India have thirty-five million Muslims. According to the two-nation theory that would mean thirty-five million aliens. How can a State exist with so many aliens among its citizens?

Pakistan is trying to develop into a theocratic State. India is trying to develop into a secular State in which a man's religion is his own business and he will be free to believe according to his own conscience.

In India, we treat Muslims as full citizens. We have many in high offices. Ministers in the Cabinet, Generals in the Army, Governors and so on. In Pakistan, they have not a single non-Muslim in any important position. Their propaganda is full of appeals to the grossest forms of religious bigotry. Their press is

4. Nehru was President of the All India States People's Conference in 1939 and 1945.

5. Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah.

continuously calling for *jehad*, holy war. We have told the U.N. that we cannot tolerate this. It is bad in itself and worse in its repercussions.

There is a deadlock on the question of disbanding and disarming the so-called 'Azad Kashmir' forces in the state. India has offered a no-war pledge but the Pakistan press is still talking of a *jehad*. We cannot tolerate this.

Q: Did the threat of communism in India cause any similar division?

JN: No, that was something on a different plane entirely. The Communist Party in India was very small until the Second World War began. It has been operating on the fringe of the national movement and many of its members have taken part in the national movement for liberation.

During the War a very curious development took place. As soon as Russia came in, the Communist Party became suddenly pro-War. Most of the members of the Indian National Congress were in prison. The British who were very anxious for someone's support looked with favour on the Communist Party for the first time. The Party suddenly blossomed forth. They started papers, bought big presses, and Government bought their publications for distribution. In one way or another the Party acquired large resources.

But with their new prosperity they lost one thing, their contact and sympathy with the national organization. A door which had been open to them was now shut. By the end of the War they were so unpopular that it was difficult for them to hold public meetings. At the elections which followed the War, out of 1500 seats, they got eighteen and in each case this was due to the personal popularity of candidates in labour constituencies. In any elections that might be held today, the Party would have no chance.

But the Party has a capacity for mischief, fomenting riots, committing acts of sabotage, and other such actions. Their activities which used to be chiefly in the industrial sphere are now concentrated on fomenting rebellion in key areas. Government has seized many documents containing their directives—to blow up bridges and factories and assassinate their enemies and so on.

The Party might well have been nowhere but for the recent boost to their morale following the Communist success in China.

Q: What about India's sterling balances?

JN: These had grown as a result of purchases made in India by the Allies for War purposes and because of an intensive drive for production in India. Great industrial plants grew up in Canada, Australia and elsewhere that are now useful for other purposes. Not so in India where the old factories were worked to death.

The balances built up by India represent a great deprivation for the people of India of all the necessities of life including food. One result of that deprivation had been the Bengal Famine in which three million people had died.

Some of the goods that have made up the sterling balances have been sold for dollars, but India did not get those dollars. They went into a pool and India got pounds only.

The only satisfaction India got out of this was that now she has something to draw upon for the future and for reconstruction. Now people say these balances should be scaled down to mitigate the burden on the people of Britain.

I have the highest admiration for the British people. I admire the job they did during the War. I admire them for facing their post-War problems so bravely. But I represent the people of India. I cannot agree to lighten the burden of the British people at the expense of India for India's burden of poverty is greater than that of any European country. I cannot be generous at the expense of my poverty-stricken country.

Devaluation has hit India too. There has been no pressure on India to devalue but the link with the pound forced India down.

Q: Does India intend to recognize the Communist Government in China?

JN: That is an interesting question. For me it is also an embarrassing one. The answer is, I do not know. We have recalled our Ambassador from Nanking⁶ and are going to confer with him before taking a decision.

But there is one point about the Communist victory in China. It continues an agrarian revolution that has been going on for years all over Asia. In India we have been wiser. We have broken up the big estates and are bringing in a system of peasant ownership. We are giving compensation to the old owners at a tremendous cost because we think it is cheaper than violence. In China there are no concessions to this agrarian revolution which has been captured by the Communists.⁷ Whatever one thinks of the Communist victory, one cannot ignore this basic reality.

Q: After two and a half years of freedom have you succeeded in establishing order in India?

JN: You must be aware of the great upheaval caused by the migration of six millions from Pakistan to India and a like number from India to Pakistan. Twelve million people were uprooted in all. Rich and poor among them had been reduced to a

6. K.M. Panikkar.

7. In China, landlordism was abolished and peasant unions in the villages took over all land for equal distribution and secured the rights of sale and lease.

common level of destitution. Rehabilitation is a huge job, still unfinished, and not likely to be finished for several years to come.

The financial strain of Partition is something enormous. Much of India's best food-growing areas have gone to Pakistan and she has to import wheat and rice from wherever available and on such terms as she could get them on. All kinds of forces have been released by the impact of freedom. Everybody thought that freedom should improve his condition but instead the country has had to face all these troubles. Now we have come through all that. Order is restored in India, the Government is governing.

In the light of these circumstances, I do not see anything in the future remotely like what we have had to face in the past few years.

Q: Are you interested in making arrangements for a quota of Indian immigrants to enter Canada?

JN: I am not interested in moving people from India. India wants decent treatment for those who did go abroad.

India wants to deal with the population problem inside the country. Big as India's population is, it is not as big as some may think in relation to her area and resources. I do not want it to grow much but some parts of India are actually under-populated. A third of India's area is not cultivated and although that third includes mountains and desert, it also includes a good deal of land that can be used. India's problem is not so much to reduce the population but to increase the food supply and she is working on that problem to some purpose. India hopes in two years to cover her present food deficit. Then she would go on to raise the amount of food available to every person.

Q: What do you hope for from the North American continent?

JN: I have not come with the idea of getting anything in particular. I have come because of an invitation from President Truman a year ago, and twice renewed. India would certainly welcome cooperation and help. She would like to have a million tons of wheat as a reserve to help control wheat prices in the country. She would also welcome technical assistance and machinery on such financial terms as she could afford.

Q: The Soviet press has alleged that you are the new candidate of the U.S. for the reactionary leadership of the East. What do you say to that? What is the possibility of India joining any group of nations?

JN: What can you say to that? India is joining no bloc. She would try to be a friend and cooperate with all. Circumstances tied her more firmly with one side.

Q: Would you accept an invitation to visit Mr Stalin if one were forthcoming?

JN: Why not? I probably shall.

4. The Renaissance in Asia¹

Mr Prime Minister,

I am grateful to you, Sir, and the Hon'ble Members of this Parliament for the honour you have done me in inviting me to address you and for the warm welcome which you have been good enough to extend to me.

I am happy to be in the capital of this great Dominion and to bring to you the greetings and good wishes of the Government and the people of India. During the past twelve months, it has been my privilege to be associated in important discussions with your Prime Minister, Mr St. Laurent, and your Secretary of State, Mr Pearson. We have had to consider many difficult problems and I am revealing no secret when I say that our point of view and that of Canada were identical or very near to each other on almost every issue. In particular, I should like to refer to the spirit of understanding shown by your Government and your representative at the meeting of the Dominion Prime Ministers, held in London last April, in the determination of our future relationship with the Commonwealth. That spirit is in the great tradition of your leaders, Sir John MacDonald,² Sir Wilfrid Laurier³ and your last Prime Minister, Mr Mackenzie King, who is happily still with us. That tradition has been one of association with the Commonwealth in complete freedom, unfettered by any outside control. Canada has been a pioneer in the evolution of this relationship and, as such, one of the builders of the Commonwealth as an association of free and equal nations. India, as you know, will soon become a Republic but will remain a member of the Commonwealth. Our past cooperation will not, therefore, cease or alter with the change in our status. On the contrary, it will have greater strength because common endeavour derives from a sense that it is inspired and sustained by the free will of free peoples. I am convinced that this development in the history of the Commonwealth, without parallel elsewhere or at any other time, is a significant step towards peace and cooperation in the world.

Of even greater significance is the manner of its achievement. Only a few years ago, Indian nationalism was in conflict with British imperialism and that conflict brought in its train ill will, suspicion and bitterness, although because of the teaching of our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, there was far less ill will than in any other

1. Address to a joint session of the Canadian Parliament, Ottawa, 24 October 1949. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. John Alexander MacDonald (1815-1891); Canadian statesman; Prime Minister, Canada, 1867-73 and 1878-91.
3. (1841-1919); member, Federal Assembly, 1874; Minister, Inland Revenue, 1877; leader of Liberal Party, 1891; Premier of Canada, 1896-1911.

nationalist struggle against foreign domination. Who would have thought then that suspicion and bitterness would largely fade away so rapidly, giving place to friendly cooperation between free and equal nations? That is an achievement for which all those who are concerned with it can take legitimate credit. It is an outstanding example of the peaceful solution of difficult problems and a solution that is a real one because it does not create other problems. The rest of the world might well pay heed to this example.

Canada is a vast country and its extent is continental. It faces Europe across the Atlantic and Asia across the Pacific. Past history explains your preoccupation, thus far, with European affairs. Past history as well as geography explain the depth and intimacy of our interest in Asia. But in the world of today, neither you nor we can afford to be purely national or even continental in our outlook; the world has become too small for that. If we do not all cooperate and live at peace with one another, we stumble on one another and clutch at one another's throat.

We talk of the East and the West, the Orient and the Occident, and yet these divisions have little reality. In fact, the so-called East is geographically the West for you. During the last two or three hundred years, some European nations developed an industrial civilization and thus became different in many ways from the East which was still primarily agricultural. The new strength that technical advance gave them added to their wealth and power and an era of colonialism and imperialism began during which the greatest part of Asia came under the domination of some countries of Europe. In the long perspective of history this was a brief period and already we are seeing the end of it. The imperialism which was at its height during the last century and a half has largely faded away and only lingers in a few countries today. There can be little doubt that it will end in these remaining countries also and the sooner it ends the better for the peace and security of the world.

Asia, the mother of continents and the cradle of history's major civilizations, is renascent today. The dawn of its newly acquired freedom is turbulent because during these past two centuries its growth was arrested, frustration was widespread and new forces appeared. These forces were essentially nationalist, seeking political freedom; but behind them was the vital urge for bettering the economic condition of the masses of the people. Where nationalism was thwarted there was conflict, as there is conflict today where it is being thwarted, for example in South East Asia. To regard the present unsettled state of South-East Asia as a result or as part of an ideological conflict would be a dangerous error. The troubles and discontents of this part of the world and indeed of the greater part of Asia are the result of obstructed freedom and dire poverty. The remedy is to accelerate the advent of freedom and to remove poverty. If this is achieved, Asia will become a powerful factor for stability and peace. The philosophy of Asia has been and is the philosophy of peace.

There is another facet to the Asian situation to which reference must be made. The so-called revolt of Asia is the legitimate striving of ancient and proud people against the arrogance of certain Western nations. Racial discrimination is still in evidence in some countries and there is still not enough realization of the importance of Asia in the councils of the world.

India's championship of freedom and racial equality in Asia as well as in Africa is a natural urge of the facts of geography and history. India desires no leadership or dominion or authority over any country. But we are compelled by circumstances to play our part in Asia and in the world, because we are convinced that unless these basic problems of Asia are solved, there can be no world peace. Canada, with her traditions of democracy, her sense of justice, and her love for fairplay, should be able to understand our purpose and our motives and to use her growing wealth and power to extend the horizons of freedom, to promote order and liberty, and to remove want, and thus to ensure lasting peace.

India is an old nation and yet today she has within her something of the spirit and dynamic quality of youth. Some of the vital impulses which gave strength to India in past ages inspire us still and, at the same time, we have learned much from the West in social and political values, in science and technology. We have still much to learn and much to do, especially in the application of science to problems of social well-being. We have gained political freedom and the urgent task before us today is to improve rapidly the economic conditions of our people and to fight relentlessly against poverty and social ills. We are determined to apply ourselves to these problems and to achieve success. We have the will and the natural resources and the human material to do so and our immediate task is to harness them for human betterment. For this purpose, it is essential for us to have a period of peaceful development and cooperation with other nations.

The peace of one country cannot be assured unless there is peace elsewhere also. In this narrow and contracting world, war and peace and freedom are becoming indivisible. Therefore, it is not enough for one country to secure peace within its own borders but it is also necessary that it should endeavour, to its utmost capacity, to help in the maintenance of peace all over the world.

The world is full of tension and conflict today. Behind this tension lies an ever-growing fear that is the parent of so many ills. There are also economic causes that can be remedied only by economic means. There can be no security or real peace if vast numbers of people in various parts of the world live in poverty and misery. Nor, indeed, can there be a balanced economy for the world as a whole if the undeveloped parts continue to upset that balance and to drag down even the more prosperous nations. Both for economic and political reasons, therefore, it has become essential to develop these undeveloped regions and to raise the standards of the people there. Technical advance and industrialization in these regions will not mean any injury to those countries which are already highly industrialized. International trade grows as more and more countries produce more

goods and supply the needs of mankind. Our industrialization has a predominantly social aim to meet the pressing wants of the great majority of our own people.

This age we live in has been called the atomic age. Vast new sources of energy are being tapped but instead of thinking of them in terms of service and betterment of mankind, men's thoughts turn to destructive purposes. Destruction by these new and terrible weapons of war can only lead to unparalleled disaster for all concerned and yet people talk lightly of war and bend their energies to prepare for it. A very distinguished American said the other day that the use of the atom bomb might well be likened to setting a house on fire in order to rid it of some insects and termites.

Dangers undoubtedly threaten us and we must be on our guard against them and take all necessary precautions. But we must always remember that the way to serve or protect mankind is not to destroy the house in which it lives and all that it contains.

The problem of maintaining world peace, and devoting our minds and energies to that end, thus becomes one of paramount importance. All of us talk of peace and the desirability of it but do we all serve it faithfully and earnestly? Even in our struggle for freedom, our great leader showed us the path of peace. In the larger context of the world, we must inevitably follow that path to the best of our ability. I am convinced that Canada, like India, is earnestly desirous of maintaining peace and freedom. Both our respective countries believe in democracy and the democratic method and in individual and national freedom. In international affairs, therefore, our objectives are similar and we have found no difficulty thus far in co-operating for the achievement of these aims. I am here to assure the Government and people of Canada of our earnest desire to work for these ends in cooperation with them. The differences that have existed in our minds about the East and the West have little substance today and we are all partners in the same great undertaking. I have little doubt that in spite of the dangers that beset the world today, the forces of constructive and cooperative effort for human betterment will succeed and the spirit of man will triumph again.

I thank you again, Sir, and the Honourable Members of this Parliament, who shoulder a great responsibility, for your friendly and cordial welcome and for your good wishes for my country. I realize that this welcome was extended to me not as an individual but as a representative and a symbol of my nation and I am sure that my people will appreciate and welcome the honour you have done them and will look forward to fruitful harmony of endeavour between our two countries for the accomplishment of common tasks.

5. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Ottawa

October 24, 1949

My dear Krishna,

...I do not know if reports are appearing in the English press about my visit here.² It has been rather an extraordinary experience for me and I have received an overwhelming welcome everywhere. Unfortunately I have not been able to meet the common folk owing to my innumerable engagements. But wherever I had the chance to come across them they have been very friendly and many have gathered in the streets. Canada is quieter but equally friendly. It is odd and interesting to notice the marked difference between the U.S. and Canada in many ways.

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours,

Jawaharlal

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.
2. *The Times* (London) reported that Nehru's visit to the United States was a landmark in the efforts of East and West to reach a better understanding. It added that "there will be no immediate results politically. It was not the idea of the American Government to use this visit as an occasion for reaching agreement but rather to give Nehru the background against which to measure American policy in future."

6. Cooperation for Peace and Progress¹

Mr Chairman, Mr Mayor, Mr King,² ladies and gentlemen,

This is the second time within the last two weeks or so, that I have come to the Dominion of Canada. I went to Ottawa few days back and spent some little time there, and received a very friendly and cordial welcome, not only from the Government but the people of Ottawa. The two or three days I spent there, were not only welcome days, but they made me feel how in many ways, in our outlook, in the way we considered many of our problems and many world problems, how near we were to each other. I felt a certain sense of affinity with the Canadian

1. Address at a civic reception at Vancouver, 2 November 1949. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L.
2. Mackenzie King.

people and I went back from Ottawa with not only the pleasantest memories of my visit, but having drawn much nearer, not only so far as I was personally concerned, but if I may say so, from our nation's point of view, having drawn much nearer to Canada and the Canadian people.

I am happy to be here again on the soil of Canada. My regret is that I did not visit many other parts of Canada, specially the great cities of East and Central Canada and, some of the universities, but unfortunately, my time was so limited on this great continent, that it was not possible for me to extend my stay in Canada. I am glad, however, that I had an opportunity of coming to Vancouver—this very beautiful city on the western coast. I should have liked to come here anyhow, for a variety of reasons. One reason being that there were large numbers of my countrymen here whom I would have liked to see. Another reason is that Vancouver, which looks out on the Pacific Ocean towards Asia, is a kind of bridge, if I may say so, between the world of Asia and the world of America.

We talk of East and West and form some conceptions of what is East and what is West, or we talk about the Orient and the Occident. But all these ideas of East and West get rather confused when we travel about swiftly and when we come to a place like Vancouver, which is very much the West so far as Europe or the eastern part of this continent is concerned, but it is very much the East as far as Asia is concerned. Asia is the West for Canada. So these pre-conceptions that we have been labouring under about the East and the West, get rather mixed up. Indeed, in the world today, with so much more of swift transit and communication, old conceptions which separated one country from another and one problem from another hardly have any bearing. But unfortunately while the world changes, and has changed very rapidly, men's minds do not change easily and they remain functioning in ruts. Probably, many of the problems of the modern world are due to the fact that while the world changes, men's minds do not change rapidly enough to adjust themselves to the changing world. And so there is a hiatus between the two, and this hiatus often causes trouble, difficulty and conflict.

Anyway, a place like Vancouver is suited geographically and otherwise to bridge this gap, not merely geographically as it does, but with understanding mentally and psychologically. It is more important today than in any previous time in history, for people to understand each other, for countries to understand each other, and for continents to understand each other. Thus far, most of our people, most people in any country, lived their separate lives or were connected with certain other countries, and for them the rest of the world was some dark mysterious land which they did not understand. Now that is no longer possible, and certainly not desirable. Because today every country has suddenly become your neighbour, our neighbour, when it takes just practically a day or two days to go half round the world and when there is no country very far away from you, and as for other means of communication, you do not even take a few seconds to communicate with each other. So that it becomes quite essential for us to understand different continents

and different countries because not only it is desirable, but because it has become essential to avoid conflict and the rest that follows from conflict.

Unfortunately during my fairly long public career, I had never had an occasion to visit America. I have spent a good deal of time in Europe, parts of Europe, in England specially, and in other parts of Europe, some other parts of Asia, and I had long wanted to come to this very continent of America, but could not find an opportunity to do so. I could not find it because, for nearly thirty years or so, most of us in India were completely occupied with our struggle for freedom. And that took all our energy and time, apart from the fact that that involved long periods of enforced seclusion. So, it was difficult for me to travel about much, and since during the last two years I have been in the position of responsibility in the Government of India, so now for these reasons it has become difficult to leave India for a long time. Nevertheless, I felt more and more that it was necessary for me to come to this continent, to the United States, to Canada, and I should have liked to go to other places here too, to South America, because I have no doubt that in the future, this continent is going to play a very important part in world affairs. And even to understand it and to know something of the springs of action of the people living here, it was quite necessary for me and for others to come here, and for you to go to our country.

Naturally, I came to America not with a blank mind. I have read a great deal about the various movements, various developments that have taken place in this continent, in the United States or in the Dominion of Canada. I read the history of the development of this Dominion, the struggles you had, and your achievements. So I had a fairly good background, I read the literature produced in this continent, I know a good deal about it, but it is not enough merely to read about a people in books. It does help. It should be done. But ultimately to know a people you have to meet them and meet them with a receptive mind and try to get to know them not merely intellectually, if I may say so, but to become emotionally aware of them. Fortunately, for me, during the visit of mine both to Canada and the United States, I found such an atmosphere of friendship and cordiality and welcome, that it became easy for me to be receptive, to understand, and perhaps to be understood a little. Specially, as I said right in the beginning, the three days that I spent at Ottawa benefited me very greatly because they brought this understanding and this feeling of commonness and affinity.

India and Canada are both in the Commonwealth. India, as you know, in two or three months' time will become a Republic. Nevertheless, we have decided to remain in the Commonwealth and in taking this decision we were greatly helped by the counsel that we got from the leaders of Canada, the Prime Minister, the Ministers and the Secretary of State. And I am very grateful to them for their understanding of our problems and the way they helped us finding a way out of the difficulties that we faced in solving those problems. That showed itself a year ago, when I met them for the first time and saw how much they could understand

our problems. And so when I came here, I was not surprised to find this affinity of outlook between us in regard to many things and many world problems. And I am quite sure that this cooperation between India and Canada, not only in the Commonwealth but otherwise too, will be beneficial to both our countries and will help us in facing the problems of the world. These problems of the world seem to be very difficult and very complex and indeed they are so. And I find, often enough, people looking at them as being insolvable.

They talk despairingly of war as something inevitable and however much they dislike it, they fear that they cannot escape it ultimately. Well, nobody can prophesy about the future, and certainly I cannot do so, but the more I have travelled about the United States or Canada as well as in Europe and other countries, the more I have found that there was a basic and fundamental desire for peace among people of all kinds. And quite naturally so, because there can be no greater disaster in the present age than war on a big scale. It does matter of course, but it does not ultimately matter who wins the war, as there would be such vast destruction that that would bring down the level of humanity tremendously. So, every normal human being, of course, wants to avoid a war. It is a curious thing that you might say today and you might even prove with pencil and paper in hand, that humanity has advanced sufficiently to provide all the material wants of all the people in the world, and not only the material wants but the other wants also, which are very important; to help, to give an opportunity to every single human being to advance so far as his capacity will carry him. Because of the advance of science and the application of science, the world is in a position today to solve the age-old problems of poverty and unemployment and the lack of the necessities of life. Everybody can have them. So the old difficulty before the world no longer exists. And yet, such is our apparent fate that in spite of this, we go on creating conflicts and difficulties instead of sitting down and cooperating together in solving these basic problems of humanity.

In the course of the last generation we have had two great Wars, which have brought enough devastation in their train. On each occasion it was thought by vast numbers of people, that we fight this war so that peace may come, an enduring peace, a democratic peace, and that this might be the last war or the war that ends war. Yet another war came and again humanity hoped that after that great effort and sacrifice, peace would come and yet again there appears to be no solid peace. Now, that is a very curious thing and a very distressing fact. Somehow, we go through the same cycle again, may be it is not our fault, somebody else's fault, but the point is, we appear to be rather helpless in the hands of something, shall I say, fate or whatever it may be. And we go along the same cycle and suffer the same fears and apprehensions and then through fear and apprehension, we come into the same type of conflict, for which apparently there is no reason so far as I can see. Obviously, there are differences of opinion, different ideologies but when

a conflict is going to lead, presumably, to tremendous destruction and loss on every side, no sane human being can support that.

Obviously, no responsible statesman can dare to take risks. There are forces abroad, predatory forces which create trouble, aggression and the like, and so we have to prevent that, to defend ourselves against aggression or prevent the world suffering from aggression. That is obvious. One cannot take any risk in that matter. Nevertheless, having done so, it has become our duty, to try to avoid a repetition of those very happenings, that brought disaster in the past. Now, in regard to these broader matters, these are the difficulties, but, I do not think that there is any need for us to think, inevitably, of war. Personally, I do not think there is much chance of war in the near future and the more time the world gets for peace, the greater the chances of stopping war in future. Now, in all this, I am happy to find that the attitude of the Canadian Government and the Canadian people is one, which aims definitely at peace, at the prevention of war, and at ever greater cooperation between countries. I hope that it will be given to us, to our country, to cooperate more and more with Canada.

Now, I want to address a few words to my fellow countrymen here. Many of you came here, many years ago. You have had various difficulties here and in India. You faced those difficulties and you have made good to some extent here. You are in a peculiar position. You are far from your own country. You have, obviously, a great loyalty to your own country, as you should. At the same time, you are in Canada, where you live. You have your duty to Canada, and necessarily you must have a loyalty to Canada, and function as loyal citizens of Canada and take part in the life of Canada. Fortunately, to my mind, there is no conflict between those two loyalties which those born in India or those living in Canada may have to face. It is fortunate for you and for us because if there is a conflict of loyalties, there will always be difficulties.

Now, the position of Indians in India or Indians abroad, in the final analysis, depends upon the future of your motherland. I have no doubt, that since India became independent, automatically some of the problems which faced Indians abroad, came nearer to solution. I have no doubt that those problems will be progressively solved. The first problem to solve was the problem of India's independence. It has been solved. And India naturally has gone up in the scale of nations and India is a country which cannot easily play a minor part in world affairs. By a minor part, I mean an undistinguished part. By virtue of its bigness, its resources, its manpower, and everything else, it has to play an important part or it plays no part at all. We cannot have it somewhere in the middle.

By that I do not mean that I, or any of my colleagues in India, who have any authority, or otherwise have, at any time thought in terms of India seeking, shall I say, any dominion outside its own territories or taking any kind of aggressive action anywhere at all. You know how our freedom movement was carried on, more specially since Mahatma Gandhi came on the scene. The whole movement

was based on peaceful action. The whole movement was based, keeping in view the masses of India, the underdogs of India. Mahatma Gandhi judged every question by one simple test, that is how does it benefit the under-privileged people in India. He always warned us and told us that we must not base our policies, foreign policy, domestic policy, on any aggressive design in India or outside. We are trying, so far as we can, to follow that general policy. Our foreign policy must necessarily be, to some extent, a kind of continuation of the policy we have followed in the last twenty years in the domestic sphere. It must have that background.

Therefore, sometimes it surprises people that we do not propose to take sides in any particular way. That does not mean that we do not hold clear and definite opinions, or that we are not going to work our hardest for peace. We are not, as I may repeat, we are not neutral about things that happen in the world. We have a positive approach to things and a positive policy.

The way you act seems to us as important as what is done. You will remember that Mahatma Gandhi always laid stress on means being as important as ends in regard to any matter. You may have a good end and a good objective, but it is equally important that the means you adopt or the way you take to achieve that objective is also right. It is not merely some kind of an idealistic policy, it is just sheer commonsense if you think about it because if you want to go to a place which is very important you must choose the right road leading to it. It is just not good enough for you to say that I want to go there and you take a road which leads you somewhere else. And yet oddly enough, people do not appear to pay as much importance to ways and means as to ends, and I think, perhaps, many of our difficulties have been due to this fact.

Take another instance. There is a war, let us say, and people fight for victory, as they must. If they go for war, they fight for victory. Now, what does victory signify in war? Victory in war is a means to an end. Ultimately you fight a war to attain a certain objective. Victory means the removal of an obstruction which came in the way of your attaining your objective. That seems clear enough. The main thing is the objective and victory is a way to it, not the end. When the objectives are forgotten or become secondary, when victory in war becomes the sole objective and the real objective is forgotten, when the victory comes somehow, we face new difficulties, because we have forgotten the objective.

We in India are new in world affairs. We are a very old country, but we are new in international affairs in the modern world. We have no great military strength or any other actual way of influencing world events. We realize that. In fact, if we had our own way, we would like to be left in peace. To develop in our own way, we would like to be left in peace, to develop our country without the interference of any other country. We have got hard work to do. We have achieved political independence, but we have got to do something bigger and that is to raise the people economically, raise hundreds of millions of people. That is a big objective and we want to concentrate on it. But the world being what it is we just cannot

ignore it. India is so situated geographically that it is in a pivotal position in Asia whether you look at western Asia, or South-East Asia, the Far East or the Central Asia. Each one of these areas impinges on India and if anything happens there, India is affected. And not today only, right through history, India has been affected by its position. India's ideas, India's culture have spread in distant lands. Her influence has reached China and Japan. South-East Asia is full of Indian architecture, monuments and Indian culture. Western Asia was greatly involved with India for thousands of years. Even Greece and Rome were connected with India.

So that having regard to that geographical position of India and having regard to world conditions, we just cannot isolate ourselves and think in terms of our own country; much as we would like to concentrate on our own problems. Therefore, the world brings us out. We have no false ideas of playing a great part in the world. We are much too busy to think about these matters. But we cannot escape our responsibility.

Now, we have to play a part in the world and any country can effectively play its part only if it functions according to its own views and according to its own ways of working. Otherwise, it cannot function effectively. Now, apart from the past outlook of India, the past thirty years or so of our national struggle, have very definitely given us a certain outlook, a certain way of working in approaching world problems. I know that it is very difficult to bring purely idealistic solutions to practical problems of the world; that is the biggest problem which any politician has to face. A man who becomes purely idealistic, he loses himself in the clouds and loses touch with mother earth. And so he is not effective. If he thinks all the time in terms of the so-called practical aspect, and does not think of, what I would call, the idealistic aspect of it, then he becomes a pure opportunist, and even from the practical point of view, he does not see tomorrow in his concentration on today. Therefore, one has to bring together, combine and coordinate the practical and the idealistic aspects of the problem. Now, whether one does it rightly or wrongly, nobody can say, but you cannot ignore either of those aspects.

Well, we try in India, as far as possible, to combine our idealism with practical affairs in the world today, whether we succeed or do not succeed, I cannot say. But I do think that it is essential for the two to be combined. Those who call themselves very practical in this world, are the least practical, because they never see beyond their noses. So, my answer to questions, that have been put to me, rather naively, as to whether we are on this side or that side, is and it has always been, that India will judge each problem according to its own standards and function according to those standards only. What are those standards for achieving our objectives which I have spoken about? I am quite certain that it is dangerous for the world today to submit to any aggression. It must be restrained or combated if and when necessary. Nevertheless, the approach even to that is of many kinds. There is one approach which accentuates a problem, and makes it more difficult

of solution. There is another approach which eases it and makes solution easier. Take Asia for instance, the problems of Asia, of our surrounding countries. Because of past history, any European country is looked upon with suspicion in Asia for the simple reason that for two hundred years or so, Europe has been a dominating power in Asia. Be it political or economic imperialism, it is true that in a great part of Asia, Europe is no longer imperialist. Countries are free. India is independent. Yet, this memory of the last one hundred fifty or two hundred years continues and any step or attempt which appears to be an interference by European nations immediately brings back all those old suspicions. Therefore, it is not particularly easy for some of the European countries to convince people of Asia of their *bonafides* although they may be perfectly right and to be trusted.

India is in a very favourable position from some points of view. We know our neighbours, we understand them psychologically. They have no fear or apprehension that India is going to do any injury to them or has any aggressive designs upon them. So that, if we speak to them, on the whole, we are trusted, at any rate, they listen to us without any suspicion. They may or may not agree; that is a different matter. But they do think that our advice is disinterested. But, if we tie ourselves up with any group or bloc, we lose all individuality, we lose the power we have today of influencing others, because of our individuality, because of our closer understanding of their psyche, their mind and their psychological condition, and we just become a reflex of somebody else's mind or somebody else's activity. Now that seems to me and that would be not only from India's point of view, but from the world's point of view, a completely wrong and a retrograde step for India today.

We continue in the Commonwealth for a variety of reasons. First of all, because we felt that any association in this world, any cooperative association which exists should not be broken, as there are too many disruptive elements in this world. Of course, if that cooperative association came in the way of our freedom in any way; came in the way we wanted to function, either in the domestic or in the international sphere, then we could not and we would not tolerate it because then it just interferes with our growth and we would continue to feel frustrated. But as soon as it was perfectly clear to our minds that this association was a completely free association and did not come in the way of our functioning as we wanted to function, there was no reason left for not continuing that association and we sought to continue it in the new context of things.

Now you, the Canadians, know very well that in the growth of this Commonwealth conception, Canada has played a very important part. In fact, it has been chiefly through the initiative of Canada that the Dominions have become independent nations, very friendly to each other, cooperating with each other, nevertheless completely independent in regard to their domestic or foreign policy. And therefore, it so happened that Canada could appreciate entirely our viewpoint in this matter and there is no difficulty at all about our understanding each other.

There are today in the world far too many forces which add to the existing barriers, which strengthen a tendency to disrupt and which poison people's minds. It is perfectly easy for you or me to say that it is not our fault, someone else has started this game of poisoning people's minds and spreading hatred. But is it any answer? Is that the right answer for me or for you or for any country to give? If the other party or somebody or some country is spreading hatred and disruption by following the same course, we will fall obviously into the trap completely. We can only meet the challenge in some other way.

Today, powerful governments talk to each other to decide the fate of nations. Nevertheless, today there is something rather vital happening, apart from governments—and I am of course talking specially of Asia, but it applies, a good deal, to Europe too—and that is tremendous, shall I say, activity in men's minds. In Asia, you see suddenly a measure of freedom from colonial domination. Yes, in most of Asia, though little bits of it still remain under colonialism. During this long period, the growth, political, economic, and even cultural, of the countries of Asia was arrested, because of this foreign domination. It was arrested on the one side, but on the other, certain elements, certain currents you may say, from Western countries, came as progressive forces too. But, in the main, the growth was arrested as it is bound to be in a country that is colonially governed. Now, that has ended, and suddenly various obstructions have been removed.

During this period of arrested growth, a large number of problems had piled up and suddenly we have to face them. We were thinking in terms of political freedom, well we achieved it. Meanwhile, economic problems of enormous importance have piled up and we must solve them. We have not got time to wait for say some fifty years or for some generations to solve them gradually. We have to solve them tomorrow or the day after. Otherwise, those problems overwhelm us.

So Asia today is a continent astir suddenly with a sense of freedom and with all kinds of new forces released. And these forces are both good and bad. That is so everywhere. And even the good forces sometimes function not in a right way because it is a new experience you might say and they have not yet quite settled down to things. So you see this enormous continent of Asia in a somewhat fluid state and the fluidity comes not only from general political events that are happening but from what is happening in people's minds there, the minds of millions of people. Now, if you want to understand and influence that, you cannot do it in a superficially official way, as governments often do; one government to another, thinking that coming to some kind of agreement at the top level will ultimately govern events and vast movements. It does not happen that way. Things in this democratic age, and specially the democratic age of swift transition, do not function in that way. I may be convinced of some course of action as an individual. I am convinced, I may tell you, and tell my own people; but before I can make those people function in that way, I have to convince them, the millions of them.

So these difficulties arise and one has to consider the situation, as a dynamic situation which I think can be dealt with, can be controlled, provided you approach it in the right way only. Obviously, Asia is militarily a weak continent, and almost every country compared to any great power, is weak militarily. Asia is economically too in a poor condition. Nevertheless, the fact is clear, that no part of Asia is going to be won over, by either military means or by financial means. They may make a difference here and there, but the real task is to influence Asia's mind, to make those millions, those masses of people in various countries realize, what is the right path for them and how cooperation with other countries will do them good. Because any other way would appear to Asia a way of coercion, a way of coercion by military means, or a way, shall I say, of being bought by money.

At the present time, the minds of millions in Asia have been influenced by the experience of the colonial period. Theirs is a very sensitive mind and they want very much to solve their economic problems. They want very much to cooperate with other countries, who can help them in solving their problems, help them not in a one-sided way, but to their mutual advantage. But if it appears to any country in Asia that financial help would be forthcoming if they sell their souls in the process, or their freedom, even in the slightest degree; well the reaction would be tremendous. They would say, we would rather remain poor and undeveloped, we would rather struggle through as best as we can but, having attained our freedom, after generations of effort, are we going to barter it now for financial help? It, therefore, becomes a wrong approach.

I am trying to put before you the psychological background of how masses of people think and you have to deal with these masses of people. If I have any position in India, it is not so much because I am the Prime Minister of India, as because, to some extent, I can influence those people and I am influenced by them. If I cease to be the Prime Minister, even then I can influence them. But I can influence them because I try to understand them. I cannot order them about. I am not an autocrat. I seek to understand their feelings, their minds, and sometimes to interpret their own minds to them. Naturally, that is not enough. I have to teach them, sometimes I succeed, sometimes I do not. I do not know what the future will show. But anyhow, the approach to these problems is not a purely governmental or a financial or a military approach, although on occasions a military or a financial approach may become necessary. But always remember that the primary fact in the minds of the peoples of Asia is to retain their hard-won freedom and not to barter it away at any cost.

Now, that is the background, and Canada, as she is placed, facing Europe and Asia, and you, here in Vancouver, facing Asia more than Europe, are in a position both geographically and psychologically, if I may say so, to understand this problem. Canada grew up, naturally, with her eyes towards Europe. Her whole background was European. And for a long time it looked towards Europe. Gradually it spread

to the far west and began to become more and more aware of other problems. It will become even more aware of them and ultimately, of course, one has to realise there is no such separate problem left, as an eastern or a western or a European problem or an Asian problem. You cannot ignore this fact.

You will forgive me for the way I have addressed you. It is a habit, totally unbecoming of a politician and much more so for a Prime Minister, which I acquired in India. This habit came from speaking to large numbers of my countrymen and usually rather humble poor peasants, sitting down with them and talking with them about our problems, trying to understand each other, trying to understand what they felt and what I felt. So, my way of speaking in public meetings was always a kind of individual talk with some friends rather than an oration. I cannot orate at all. The fact of the matter is, we are faced with tremendous problems in the world and I am certainly not wise enough to suggest any magical remedies for them. But I hope I am wise enough to try to grow and try to find the light all the time. Whether I succeed or not, I do not know; but I continue trying all the time.

7. The Needs of India¹

Question: In your speech yesterday you were speaking about the masses in Asia and their awareness of certain problems and changes in their conditions. In all this do you see any particular political pattern? What I mean is, are they leaning to socialism, or do they understand at all what they want?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I was referring first of all to mass feelings all over Europe or Asia. It is important to understand not merely what people at the top do or say which newspapers are full of, but what ideas stir the minds of people whether it is in Germany or anywhere. Then I went on to Asia, especially the main thing about Asia which is; you talk about socialism and other things but they just want food and clothing and such bare necessities of life first, that is their problem. And whenever they have any hope anywhere that this might be supplied, they look that way. There are not thinking in terms of 'isms'.

1. Press Conference, Vancouver, 2 November 1949. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L.

Q: Mr Nehru, what do you think of furtherance of trade relations between Canada and India? Have we any mutual problems that can be said to have been discussed during your stay here?

JN: Not here, but in Ottawa we discussed many things naturally.

Q: Have you arrived at anything you could announce, Mr Nehru?

JN: About what?

Q: About trade between Canada and India.

JN: No. Don't you see that a general principle I follow is that it is a question of working out details and that is a matter for High Commissioners and officials to work out. I do not go into that. I have come here for a day or two only.

Q: We wondered possibly if there is a loan under negotiation or anything like that.

JN: No. No. While I was talking yesterday, actually I did very casually mention the need of India for capital goods and machinery, and I said that highly developed countries can help in this way. That is all I said. This is one of the ways of the process of industrialization.

Q: Mr Nehru, in connection with the development in the Dutch East Indies, you were the Chairman of that Conference called to determine the dispute; in view of the united stand that had been taken by the Asiatic and Middle Eastern countries did it have some effect on forcing an agreement?

JN: Remember Australia was also one of those.

Q: That is right.

JN: Well why use the word 'force', but undoubtedly it had an effect on making other people, if you like, forcibly aware of our feelings in this. Therefore, it had effect certainly.

Q: Are you inclined to continue that sort of loose cooperation between various countries?

JN: You mean by meeting together?

Q: That's right.

JN: Do you mean by conferences only?

Q: That was the first time that this had happened.

JN: I know. You see in that Conference we decided to consult and keep in touch with each other, which all our Governments have been doing. Now Asian problems, really we talk about Asia as a continent, but really they form separate regional groups, such as South-East Asia sort of one lot, and the western one another lot. And therefore discussing every problem with everybody rather makes it vague and diffused. No concise method of regional discussion is evolved. Nothing has been put down. In effect, discussions and consultations do take place in regard to the problems that arise. It is all rather vague I must say.

Q: Have you made a request for arms or ships for defence from the United States?

JN: No. We have in the normal course been asking for spare parts by way of renewals. That is an old arrangement. There have been no special requests.

Q: In the House of Commons a few days ago a Member of Parliament suggested that Canada should take over a part of the British sterling debt to India. How do you feel about that? Would you perhaps take it in wheat and other things?

JN: Is that not largely a matter, I suppose, between the United Kingdom and Canada? Remember that sterling balances represent the goods supplied. It is not a kind of reparations. It is just goods supplied and supplied as a matter of fact at below the market rate, supplied a great deal to the United States forces there and to the U.K. forces. United States Force paid for them in dollars, but everything went into a sterling pool. We did not get the dollars directly, it went into a sterling pool. And all this was done because there was a tremendous deprivation of all the necessities of life and other things in India, during war-time. As a result, that was one of the predisposing causes of the Bengal Famine when three million people died in 1943-44. And naturally people look forward to using these sterling balances for the reconstruction of India, for industrialization, and they attach the greatest importance to it because they paid a very heavy price and they feel that if this also is not forthcoming, then it is an exceedingly unfair deal. Then again a part of the sterling balances had been disposed of, you might say, by setting them apart for payment of all kinds of increments such as pensions, in the United Kingdom. So they have been disposed of. A good part, a fair part, has been spent in purchases



WITH LOUIS ST. LAURENT AND MACKENZIE KING AT PARLIAMENT HOUSE, OTTAWA, 24 OCTOBER 1949



ARRIVING FOR A DINNER BY MACKENZIE KING, OTTAWA, 24 OCTOBER 1949

in the U.K. or elsewhere. I do not know the exact figures, but a considerable part of them has been set aside for payment of other items of England. About the balance that remains we are coming to an agreement with the United Kingdom for annual payments i.e., annual releases, a small part in dollars and a larger part in sterling. The annual sums are not very big and will probably spread out over twenty to thirty years. For how long I don't know exactly. That is the position. Now if any other adjustment can be made about that no doubt we will have to consider. Our need is, as the need of quite a number of countries is, great for dollars.

Q: Mr Nehru, is there any political or diplomatic significance to your North American visit?

JN: I do not know exactly what you mean. But, yes, there is always a significance to any such visit. I have come here for the first time and met leaders of Canadian opinion and Governmental leaders. Well it has certain desirable consequences. Apart from that if you think that we are trying to put through some deal, that is not correct. But otherwise it has significance.

Q: Mr Prime Minister, coming back to the sterling question you said in the beginning of your speech that it would largely be a matter between the United Kingdom and Canada. In order to get it exactly straight, have you been able to arrange something of that sort?

JN: The earlier questioner asked whether perhaps wheat could be given. Now I cannot answer that question straight off, because it is a question of considering how much wheat we require and various other things. But the point is that we want certain goods. We do not want payment in gold and silver for purchases to be made abroad in dollars and in sterling. Now obviously suppose we make some purchases in Canada, it is very convenient for us to deal with the Canadian Government and some arrangement can be made by the U.K. Government. It depends on what we want and how it is to be supplied and where.

Q: What has Canada got that you need mostly?

JN: Our immediate need has been wheat and we have been talking about that. I think that in about two years' time we shall probably cover our food deficit in India. We are making every effort; we wanted a stockpile of wheat partly to increase the rations we give, but chiefly for a reserve. If we have a reserve, we think we can keep prices down. We do not really want to touch that wheat. That is relatively a temporary though important thing. For the rest we are interested in capital equipment and technical assistance wherever we can get it from by a suitable arrangement.

We have enormous quantities of lumber, but our difficulty is really transport of that lumber from whether it is in the mountains or elsewhere.

Q: What about your merchant fleet?

JN: Merchant fleet? It is being built up slowly. We have got shipyards.

Q: What about skilled sailors?

JN: We have got a number of skilled sailors and we have produced some good boats, but the process is slow. We are trying to speed it up.

Q: Don't you think India needs a new style of technology to help develop her basic needs?

JN: Naturally for the purchase of machinery one wants the latest type. Obviously we are interested chiefly in what might be called certain basic things before we can industrialize. For instance, development of power. Now we have got a number of river valley projects, big projects, dams which can be used for irrigation purposes and for producing hydro-electric power and the development of industry. Now we want machinery for that type of thing. Then other basic things like steel production. We have got a very big steel plant. Some years ago the Tata Steel Plant and others were set up but they do not meet our demands. We have to add to them or have new plants. In fact, there is a proposal to have two more steel plants. I mean to say we are prepared to do without the luxuries of life so that we may concentrate on those basic things. We also need machine-making, tool-making factories, which is a part of basic industrialization. Otherwise you always depend on spares and every such thing from outside. So those things we want to develop first, and then other things automatically get produced.

Q: What will be your tie-up with the U.K.?

JN: Well, it is really a continuation of something that was happening only in a different context, and if you like to a slightly lesser degree than previously, but it is a continuation. We have done nothing new about it. Certainly a number of forms disappear, when we become a Republic. At the present moment if we appoint an Ambassador, formally the King appoints him. He is the King's Ambassador. We get his sanction. That sanction comes automatically. It is true, but it does come. For other appointments also, like Governor-General, all those forms go. For the rest, it is a question of consultation, keeping in touch, friendly cooperation, wherever it is possible, and that does not limit our freedom in any way as it does not limit the freedom of any Dominion. In fact, we see no reason why we should give that

up. As a matter of fact during the past many years, many of our economic contacts have been with the United Kingdom. They have developed. That brings both advantages and sometimes disadvantages. Disadvantage in the sense that when the pound sterling was devalued, we had to follow. There was no absolute necessity for the rupee to be devalued independently of the pound sterling, but because the pound was devalued and because of our contacts, economic and other, with the pound sterling area, we had to devalue. But that has nothing to do with the political issue. I mean to say whether we are in the Commonwealth or not, the point is we are in the sterling area.

Q: You are reported to have said that some people are trying to lower India and some people to build it. Is that correct?

JN: What I said was that in India, as in other countries, there are some forces at work towards construction and some towards disruption. Everywhere there are all kinds of forces at work. There is a conflict between the disruptive and the constructive tendencies and we have to encourage the constructive tendencies and as far as possible put an end to the disruptive tendencies. Nobody deliberately wants to ruin India. But some think the good of India lies in one direction, say in isolation, say in an extreme form of narrow nationalism.

Q: Mr Prime Minister, now since these general questions are settled, how does India feel about French policy in Indo-China?

JN: Generally speaking, India feels that the people of Indo-China should decide. And any attempt at imposing a decision from outside will not be a decision at all. It will be opposed to all that they want.

Q: Do you feel that the people of Indo-China have an opportunity to decide for themselves?

JN: They should have. Yes.

Q: Mr Prime Minister, your countrymen here in British Columbia would like to have a farewell message from you for their record, just in case you do not visit our country again. Might I suggest a short statement in English and a second in Hindustani please?

JN: As a matter of fact I told the people yesterday that it is quite natural and right that they should be attached to India and feel a sense of loyalty towards India, but it is equally necessary that since they are here in British Columbia and in Canada that they should have a loyalty towards Canada,² and fortunately I saw no conflict

2. See *ante*, p. 414.

between the two. Further as they lived here, they should try to fit in to the general structure of things here and not remain a merely isolated group. I hope that process will continue and thereby be advantageous to the general structure in Canada, in British Columbia, and to them.

8. Keeping Pace with the World¹

Mr Chairman, Brigadier Murphy,² ladies and gentlemen,

I came to Vancouver yesterday afternoon, and I was given a warm welcome here, and after these brief hours that have gone by I am bidding you farewell. It has been a short time, but a fairly full time and I have met many people here, talked to them, and seen them from a distance, from the streets, and wherever I have been, not only have I heard the spoken words of welcome, but sensed a welcome in the eyes and the faces of people I saw. Now my stay in Vancouver and in Canada is drawing to a close, but very soon I shall be departing from this great continent of America. I came here for the first time. I have been warned that one should not go to America for the first time, but there is no help for it. And for long, indeed, if I may say so, from my school and college days, I wanted to come to America. Naturally, because, there is so much that was new and dynamic in this continent and I was eager to come and see it from close quarters. But circumstances willed otherwise, and during these past many years, I read of course a great deal about what has happened in America, in the United States, and in Canada. I read about the struggles for freedom, about the great advances you have made. I read a little about the books and the literature you had produced and formed some picture. But essentially, my background was a mixed background of India, of course, and what I gathered in England or other parts of Europe, which I visited, on various occasions. I saw a good deal of that very fine culture and civilization that Europe had built up in the past 200 years especially. I admired much of it. I liked it, but I was eager to find out for myself, what is this that was originally, one may say, an extension of European culture and civilization in this continent. Advancing from that background sometimes on different and more dynamic lines, I was eager to find out about this great continent. Coming from India, I came from a country and a continent which was older than even Europe, and which had all the advantages and the disadvantages of age, because you cannot have one without the other.

1. Speech at the Board of Trade, Vancouver, 3 November 1949. A.I.R. tapes.

2. William C. Murphy (b. 1905); barrister; served in the Second World War; awarded American Legion of Merit; President, Vancouver Bar Association.

And while, I wanted my country to retain all the advantages of age, which had come from long real experience, some kind of a mellowed wisdom, which might come from age, I was also very conscious of the fact of the disadvantages which produce a certain static condition, a certain passivity, and to me the American continent represented much more than even Europe a new dynamism of this age.

Much of it I like and a part of it from a distance I did not like. Nevertheless, it represented not only today more, but possibly tomorrow much more, so I was eager to come and I came here, and I have been for a few weeks and now I am going back with the multitude of vivid impressions, not that I have learned anything new, if you ask me. I might have told you much previously about America, about the history and its development in various ways, industrial and the rest. But it makes all the difference in the world to see a thing for yourself and to read about it. That in the world today, everything is so geared as to lead to a rapid development of industries, communications, transport etc., and everything happens very quickly is an extraordinary fact. The Chairman has referred to air travel and is looking forward to the day which is not in the distant future when jet aircraft would fly across the seas and the lands, in the space of a few hours, almost round the world. I suppose that will happen. I am not quite clear in my mind, as to whether that happening will be all to the good of the world. Not that I would not like it and anyhow it is not the question of my liking it or not liking it, it will happen. But it strikes me that somehow the pace of development in the world not today, but indeed for a considerable time past, has been such that the mind of man has not quite kept pace with it. While the world today, from any point of view, scientific, industrial, trade, commerce, transport, communications, contracts more and more, and we become the neighbour or enemy of another country, however far it may be, still in our minds we are rather more limited in outlook, and we have not quite got rid of a certain parochialism, or if we extend it a little, a certain nationalism in its narrow sense, not in its better aspects. The result is that we have not quite kept pace with any country in this development of the world.

Now even if you travel, travel is a good thing and you see other countries, and you do not think, as Brigadier Murphy said, of people, one does not know, as people with horns and tails. It is perfectly true, though it may be an exaggeration, that one has odd notions of people whom one does not know. One tends to think that there are strange, mysterious people, entirely different from us. Your conception of India, barring some of you, who may know more about it, might probably strike me as peculiar. The conception of an average Indian about Canada and the United States is also peculiar. He reads about them, of course, in the newspapers and the books, nevertheless the basic conception misses the reality. So people after short visits by air come back with only a superficial impression of the countries they have visited.

In my own country, I have known people, who have come from abroad and lived, well, almost their whole life, twenty years, thirty years, and yet they are

totally ignorant of their surroundings. It is an extraordinary thing. They have not tried to learn the language of the country, except possibly to speak to a few domestic servants, in very broken language, and they live all their lives and come away, because they have never opened their minds or tried to understand and be receptive to the cultural and other background of the country they are in. If that is so, then, of course, their minds remain closed, and they come back as they went. That is happening less now than it used to be. But it applies to all of us. Maybe it would be different here because things have greater impact here. Because things obviously change. In India, that outward dynamism has been absent and things apparently continue to remain as they were. Of course, they do not always remain as they were, they do change. People's minds change, which you cannot look into. Anyhow it seems to me that if we have to keep pace with this changing world, our minds have to keep pace with it. With our airplanes, radio, and other modern developments of science, if our minds do not change, there will be a gap and trouble.

If I may just peep back into history, some of the biggest changes that history talks about, the French or the American revolutions, were really the outcome of the previous conditions obviously. While those revolutions were taking place, something much mightier was happening in England, that is the Industrial Revolution, which came almost unheralded, quietly, and spread gradually, which changed the world far more than any political revolution could have done. Most people probably did not realize it. The world was changing and yet the whole of the nineteenth century Europe was still thinking mentally in terms of the French Revolution, which is really an out-of-date thing in many ways. Since the coming of the Industrial Revolution, other problems were coming up. Well, while we enjoy the blessings of things, yet our minds do not adapt to this changing world, anyhow, today, there is not much escape left for us because we have arrived at a stage when our minds must be brought up to date in that matter. What happens curiously enough in the modern age is that there is such a vast accumulation of knowledge, technical knowledge, scientific knowledge, and other kinds of knowledge, that it has become an exceedingly difficult thing for a single individual to have, or to know much about most of these things. What can he do? He specializes naturally. He gets very good at a particular aspect of knowledge. He does that in knowing, in specializing, in knowing about something. Normally he knows nothing about anything else, so that his viewpoint becomes rather limited, in regard to the other matters. Now in the old days, whether you go back to old Greece or old India, or any of the older days, when apparently such knowledge was rather limited, an educated person was supposed to have some knowledge of the aspects of human life, in all its phases. There was no such specialization, and while he could not advance in any particular aspect very far, unless he was a genius, he had an overall view and so, he was, you might say, probably a better citizen. Today, there are so many departments in human lives, so many compartments, so much specialization and the rest, that while we progress in one particular direction, we cease to be an all-round citizen

which the ancient world produced. On the other hand, developments in the world have forced us not only to be the normal citizens but more and more to think of ourselves as world citizens. Difficulties come when we specialize and departmentalize, as while on the one hand, we know a lot about one thing, and very little about anything else, on the other hand, the world demands that we should understand it as it is today. Now how are we to bridge that gap? Well, as I said, coming of the jet plane is a good thing, no doubt. If the jet plane widens the gap still more, then it creates more difficulties for us, bodily difficulties, if you like. You travel suddenly from the north pole to the equator and it upsets your body probably, but upsets your mind still more.

I do not know how many of you have read the travel accounts of the great travellers of old days. Those were very fascinating books. Take Marco Polo.² Now Marco Polo starts from Venice for China. He takes just two and a half years to do his journey. He travelled in a leisurely way, right across Asia, from somewhere on the western coast of Asia, right across that enormous continent, day after day, month after month, year after year and as he travels, he adapts himself to changing circumstances, his body, his mind. He picks up the language, he picks up customs, he gets to know the people, and by the time he arrives in China, he is half Chinese. Now today, that cannot happen. Well, there is one redeeming feature which is that because of other developments, various countries automatically get to know each other better, of course, through several communication methods, books and other things, that are available. So, the differences are lessening is true.

Nevertheless, there are differences, not so much the differences of the so-called East and West, but rather the differences of nationality, culture, national outlook, background of history, environment, and circumstances. Above all, the major difference today in the world is neither East nor West nor national. The major difference, I should say, is between those countries which have not industrialized, which are still agrarian or agricultural in the main. That is a major difference and of course that governs the outlook of the community living there. There is an agrarian outlook, rather backward, which is a very definite thing, not the agrarian outlook of the American farmer or of the Canadian farmer, because their agrarian outlook itself is an industrial agrarian outlook. That is the main difference in the world today. I suppose that will gradually go too. Now all this long preamble was just to emphasize and lay stress on the desirability of understanding each other. Understanding should be just not in the normal way but if I may say so, it has to be at the emotional level also. It may be that some of our troubles, at least of today, the political troubles, are due to the lack of that emotional awareness of

2. (1254-1324); Venetian, travelled through Central Asia and met Kublai Khan in 1275 and entered his diplomatic service. He visited China in 1292 and returned by way of India and Iran to Venice in 1295. His travel account was published in *The Book of Marco Polo*.

the other people's minds and urges. That does not mean, of course, that you should agree or you should adapt yourselves to other people's way of thinking and acting. But whether you agree with them or not, you should understand them. You should understand them whether they are your friends and even more so, if they are your enemies.

How do the army generals function? I am not a military man, but it is obvious that it is the duty of a general to try to put himself in the opposite party's position and think what he would have done. Understanding that, he would counter it, and plan his strategy to meet the challenge. So it comes to this that you have to understand the opposite party's mind or you have to understand if he is not the opposite party. In regard to the so-called East and West, strange beliefs have arisen about some mighty barriers between the two, about the East being the mysterious land and strange conspiracies being hatched in the bazars of the East. Stories are written about it. Personally, I doubt its mysteriousness. We must get rid of this idea of the East and the West in these contexts. Countries differ in their background, culture and history. At the same time, there is this urge all over the world, of some kind of a certain uniformity, provided it does not become regimentation of everybody. So, let us get rid of this idea of East and West, and Occident and Orient in that sense. Of course, there is no Occident or Orient in that sense. There is no Occident or Orient in this round globe, and you in Vancouver are in the East, so far as we the Asians are concerned. I remember reading old Chinese books about India. In those Chinese books India is described as the western land. Naturally, India happened to be to the west of China. It is the official "title of India" in the Chinese books which describe it as "The land of the west" or "The western land". That is geographically so. There is no special quality which pertains to the West or the East.

So, we have to get out of that way of thinking, which was imbibed from our childhood from all kinds of old stories of old people, and it is necessary to have a personal view of other people and other countries. But that personal view is really profitable, fully profitable, only when something else accompanies it. It is not just you are going to India and visiting the Taj Mahal, which you should no doubt visit as it is a magnificent monument. But equally important is your making yourself a little receptive, and being not isolated in your mental approach. When you would try and understand what people in other lands are thinking and why they are thinking so, you will find that you understand them much more easily and that really they do not differ so much as you thought. They differ, may be in the ways of their eating, drinking, dressing etc. and thinking, because of their particular climate and the milieu in which they live, which affect them very much. Otherwise, there is not such a big difference among human beings. You will find, that average human beings barring some, as it may be in special cases, are desirous of peace in the world. They want to get along and do not want trouble. They want to live their peaceful domestic family life. They want their country to have peace so that it

may progress and so on and so forth. As this desire for peace and cooperation all over the world increases, there is also an increase in fear and apprehension that peace may be disturbed. Well, this is the real state of the world situation.

There is also another aspect that in the world today, any person taking a pencil and paper can demonstrate that through adequate cooperation all the means that are made available by science can ensure conditions of peace and plenty in every part of the world. Science can satisfy any normal need and special needs too for the development of the human being. But in spite of the fact that there is no need now to grab at something and deprive somebody else, as might have been, say in the Middle Ages, say two hundred years ago, when there was lack of goods and only some people could have them; such conditions do not exist in the world. Today the entire world could fulfil its normal needs, if not suddenly, but by gradual raising of the level of people. It is not only materially, but in many other ways too that the people's conditions can be improved. But, as it is, we somehow get into a tangle and a vicious circle, and periodically bring about a tremendous destruction of everything hoping that that would be the end of that destruction and then we can live at peace for ever after. But, we do not. We get in this vicious circle. It is worthwhile, considering the complete lack of logic of all this. Of course, perhaps, it is a little absurd to call life logical because life is not logical. Few human beings are logical, and when they were extremely logical, they got into difficulties. Nevertheless, absence of logic too seems to be undesirable. One has to be logical and adapt the logic to the changing circumstances.

From my visit to this American continent, the United States and Canada, whatever other results may follow, I have benefited very greatly, as it has added to my education very much. For that I am very grateful to you. It has not only added to my education, but made me, if I may say so, more convinced than ever of the essentially peaceful background of the world in spite of trouble-makers, and of the essentially friendly background of the world in this continent. Fate and circumstance have cast a rather special role on the people of this continent. Europe built up a very great and a very fine civilization, a gracious way of living. Europe is in difficulties. Well, whatever the difficulties, I hope that the culture and civilization that Europe built up, will endure, and will benefit other continents and other countries also.

India and other countries of Asia have also a very long tradition of their own, a variety of culture growth, history of their own adventures in the realm of thought, and of the material advancement in the past. They became static later. I have no doubt that static period in Asia and in India is over. India is now going to be dynamic, and once you turn the mind of the Indian people in that direction, I have little doubt that it will produce very remarkable results. Because the mind of India has been very keen. All of you, perhaps, may not know or only a few of you may know of one significant fact.

Take one very remarkable discovery, the greatest in history perhaps, that was made in India, and that was the discovery of the zero symbol in numbers. You use numbers, every child uses numbers today, almost automatically. Yet, do you remember how the Romans and the ancient Greeks got entangled in a most complicated, and cumbrous system of numbers, which sometimes, you also write down in the letters of the alphabet today. Have you ever tried to add a sum, written in Roman numerals? It is a very complicated process. You cannot go very much beyond it, with the result that the Roman numerals, I do not think, went beyond ten thousand. There is no name of the number beyond ten thousand also in Greek probably. It is extraordinary that the creative genius of Rome and Greece and later of Alexandria also had creative genius even on the mechanical front but they just could not get out of that prison of their alphabetical numerals, which required a huge apparatus to do so. I forget what it was called to do a simple sum of addition. Now, how could the world progress, or trade or commerce be done, when you cannot even add numbers easily. You want an expert to do a simple sum of addition every time with a huge apparatus. Now, this was that wonderful discovery which took place in India, of the decimal system, and the zero of the cypher science. It seems so simple to us, but it is an amazing discovery of the human mind, and in fact for a long time afterwards, India led in mathematics, in arithmetic and algebra. Now you know, perhaps, that you call these symbols the Arabic symbols, just like the others were the Roman symbols. These are the Arabic symbols, because they came via Arabia from India to Europe and then to other countries. If you go to Arabia, now, you know what these symbols are called? They are called Indian symbols, Indian numerals, *Hindsa*. So, I merely mentioned one simple fact to you, though there are many other things that one might mention. But all this is fascinating.

Now, I am quite sure that Asia, and speaking from my own country, certainly India, has arrived at a stage of a rapid change-over, from its static condition. It has not been completely static and this period, last hundred and fifty years or more of British rule there, has done both harm and good to the country. Various ideas, various forces have been incubating all this time. Well, there is a release of those forces now. Sometimes they go wrong, when suddenly released. But generally speaking there is a vitality, a dynamism in India, and with the background of our material resources, resources in man-power, resources in ability, capacity of the human mind which is there, what is required is only to bring it together to produce effective results, and I have little doubt, those results will be produced in spite of all the difficulties that face us. But all these results have to be seen now not in the context of one country, but in the larger context of the world. Because unless they are related to the rest, the results though good in their limited field, somehow come into conflict with other results, and that is why we come up with this problem of world cooperation not merely from a sentimental point of view, though sentiment is good, but from the exceedingly practical point of view. Any other cause simply means not only taking advantage of things, that you have got, but actually

shouldering responsibility cast upon you, by history and circumstance, and therefore a very great deal depends on what this continent does in the future.

Asia, on the other hand, is renascent, resurgent, and is no doubt playing an important part. Therefore, the relations of Asia, with the American continent become important in every way, and before you consider that relationship in terms of trade and commerce, it is important of course that we should develop trade and commerce, and as the Chairman said, but before you develop that, it is the more basic relationship, which comes from a mutual awareness of each other and mutual understanding of each other, and if that comes in, the rest follows fairly easily. It is because of all this, all these ideas fermenting in my mind, that I have looked forward for a long time to coming to America, and I came here with a certain excitement, and all these days and weeks of mine in this continent have been filled with this excitement, excitement almost of a new discovery. It was not very new, because I said I knew a great deal about it. Nevertheless, I wanted to come, and be emotionally aware of the people here, more than what I could do just by looking at them or reading about them. To some extent that is a voyage of discovery for me, as President Truman rightly said, the moment I landed in Washington. It has been an exceedingly agreeable and pleasant visit, at this stage in my life, which I shall remember for long. In fact, all these experiences, or many of them, would be unforgettable to me—my brief visits to Canada, to Ottawa, and now to Vancouver, much too brief and much too limited, considering the great extent of this enormous Dominion.

Mr Mayor was asking me, how big India was compared to Canada. Well, India is a big country, but I am afraid it is about a third of Canada. Canada is about three times, in its geographical extent, bigger than India. It is an enormous territory. But, no doubt, of course, from the population point of view India is much bigger. Our population is about 350 millions after the Partition of India. Both are historical countries. Of course, I have found, everywhere I have been in Canada, a feeling of closer association and here in this great gathering of distinguished citizens of this province and this city, the same sentiments have been repeated, and I have listened to them with pleasure. Allow me to show it, while we in India have problems, and the past hangover of problems, as well as new problems, yet we look forward to the future with a great deal of confidence in spite of all our problems, partly because, we have faced and overcome serious difficulties and problems in the past, which has given us the confidence for the future. There are different types of forces at play, good and bad. Three hundred and fifty million people do not think alike. Some are backward, some are reactionary, some are progressive and some are revolutionary. All types of human beings are there in India, like in every other country, and out of the amalgam of those forces something emerges. But taking it, all in all, India, not only is of course, anxious and keen for world peace, but desirous of developing these contacts with the outside world, and, more especially, with the Americans, for the simple reason that India, like China, on

the one hand, represents in the world today, a past civilization as well as certain modern elements. The Americans represent the present more. We want to balance ours, not only our material condition, but our thinking too, the mixture of the past and the present. So we look to America for that reason also, psychologically and materially both, and I think that it is important that our respective countries should function in that way.

May I say that when this problem came up before India, of her future relationship with the Commonwealth, as you know, we have been conditioned for a large number of years, during our struggle for independence, of thinking in terms of a complete independence and a severance of the ties that bound us to the United Kingdom or to the Commonwealth. That relationship does not mean any domination logically. It could be shown that it is not so, but emotionally that was the reaction of the vast numbers of people, and it is difficult to get over this emotional reaction. Well, fortunately, as Brigadier Murphy said, this changeover came in India by consent and settlement, peacefully, and I should also like to add my word of tribute to the British Government of the day who functioned in that particular way and made this change-over easy. Also, I would like to remind you of the whole background of our struggle under Mahatma Gandhi, which also assisted us in making it in this friendly and cooperative way. So credit belongs to both parties. Then the question came of our future relationship with the Commonwealth. There were forces in India, which still felt in the old way and said, well, 'that is all right', but we must cut adrift. Quite a natural, earnest thought. We saw that remaining in the Commonwealth did not in any way infringe or limit our domestic or external freedom. We had decided long ago, and we have talked about it a great deal to become a Republic. Our Constituent Assembly had also formally decided. Now, the problem became a rather intricate one, and a difficult one. How to reconcile the two opposite views? But the basic approach then, as our approach now was, that in this world of today, there are far too many tendencies which may be called disruptive. But, if you take a broader view of the world you would find a large number of forces at play, which can be called constructive and unifying. There are, of course forces at play which are destructive and disuniting. Well, we felt that in the present context of the world, any step which puts an end to one sphere of cooperation which exists, is a retrograde step, provided, of course, that that step towards the sphere of cooperation does not limit the country's freedom. Once we were assured of that, we worked towards retaining our association with the Commonwealth even in the new context of things. Now this, as I have said, elsewhere, was appreciated by other member countries of the Commonwealth, and it was especially appreciated by the representatives of Canada. So we evolved this new way, new method of association, which is not only unique in history, but which shows the strength and the dynamic character of the Commonwealth.

Now one word more, that is, we talk about world cooperation, etc. After the last War, the United Nations came into existence over the ashes of the League of

Nations. It is easy to criticize the League of Nations which towards the end of its career had become rather a feeble organization. It is easy also to criticize the United Nations, because it does not suddenly change the world and bring about peace all over the world. Yet the fact remains that the United Nations is about the one big helpful sign in the world. It continues to be that, and if it does not succeed, as we would like it to succeed, it is not the fault of the United Nations, but the fault lies in some of us who are in the United Nations. The fault lies in the circumstances and, therefore, I think we should look upon the United Nations, as something that is laying the foundations of that future world cooperation, world order and one world, and make it strong. I should like to thank you, Mr Chairman, and Brigadier Murphy and others, who are present here for your welcome.

9. Meeting of East and West¹

Your Worship, Senator King, Premier Johnson,² ladies and gentlemen, During the last few weeks I have been addressing many audiences, many distinguished audiences, both in Canada and the United States. And on certain occasions which are more or less formal, one is expected to give something in the nature of a formal reply. I find some difficulty in functioning in the formal manner on almost any occasion, in spite of the very heavy weight of responsibility that lies on me. But on this occasion, and when I was in Ottawa recently, I did have the feeling that I need not be very formal, because there was there a friendship and cordiality and I am very grateful to you not only for what you have said, but for producing that atmosphere which makes me feel that I can function in a somewhat informal way and not exactly according to protocol. During the last two and a half years or more, one of the terrors of my life has been protocol. I came to the United States about three and a half weeks ago, but in Canada I have been able to spend only three days in Ottawa and now about a day here.

It has been a deep regret to me not to spend more time here and, to visit more parts of this great Dominion that I wanted to visit. But even though my time is limited here, I did make a special effort to come to Vancouver, not only because I had heard that Vancouver was a very beautiful city, but also because there were a large number of my countrymen here, and more particularly because somehow Vancouver was among those places which became some kind of a symbol to me,

1. Speech at the State banquet, Vancouver, 3 November 1949. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. B.I. Johnson, Premier and President of the Executive Council of the province of British Columbia.

partly because of its geographical location, and perhaps for other reasons also, of a place which is, or can be, a connecting link between the so-called West and the so-called East.

As I said this afternoon in another place this business of West and East is becoming hopelessly confusing, because even in Vancouver what is normally called the East is the West for you. But apart from that too there has been far too much talk of West and East as if they represented some hard differences of a bloc on each side, which of course they do not. There are differences among nations due to cultural and historical backgrounds, specially among great countries, and they may be called national characteristics. There are differences, more patent now of countries which have advanced industrially, and that has made a great difference to the way of living and even to some extent to their way of thinking; but otherwise this differentiation between the Orient and the Occident seems to me to have little meaning or significance. Whatever meaning or significance it had in the past is likely to disappear fairly soon and I do not mind, indeed I rather like, differences between nations, differences in the sense of not conflicts, but different ways of looking at things, different ways of living that adds to the variety and diversity of life, and there is no particular reason why every country should try to copy every other and that we should have a uniform regimentation of the world. The world will become a very very dull place if that happens.

So one wants diversity, but when these differences lead people to think that there is something basically different in another country, then it leads to a lack of understanding and a lack of cooperation. Now there has been in the past a phrase often used about the so-called East, the mysterious East. That of course signified only that the persons who called it so did not even try to understand it or to look at it more closely; because they found it superficially somewhat different and therefore they thought there must be some mystery involved in it and they looked at it may be as something rather grotesque or something which was not very likeable, and all that creates barriers to understanding and a lack of understanding leads to all kinds of undesirable results. When there is no understanding there is always a certain apprehension about a stranger one does not quite know what he is and what he might do at any time. And so fears grow up which add so much to confusion and sometimes bring about conflict. I should personally imagine that in this present state of world tension, which is very great as you all know, there are many basic causes to it. But certainly one of the causes is this lack of understanding. I am not for the moment talking about governments or rather of people, because people are different, because people have different backgrounds, and cultural and historical development. One does not try to understand them. And because of this lack of awareness of each other, one suspects each other far too much. And this suspicion breeds other feelings and sometimes leads to conflict. By itself there would be no conflict, of course, if there were no other reasons. But nevertheless it does function in that way. And I imagine if there was a greater

understanding and a feeling that human beings are not so utterly different in different parts of the world and there is very much in common between them although they might express themselves differently and speak a different language, perhaps it would be easier for us to approach each other.

Now I come to this great Dominion of Canada. I had not come here totally unprepared for what I find or what I see. Because obviously it has been one of my preoccupations to try to understand other countries, more specially the other growing and dynamic countries, and to learn from them what I could learn. Indeed to understand the modern world it is important for us to know what the countries of the Commonwealth were. But apart from the Commonwealth, even Canada obviously plays a more and more important part in world affairs. It has quite rapidly assumed that role of importance and grows in status and position in world affairs.

So I tried to understand as much as I could from a distance about Canada; to read about her history. That again was of interest to us in another way. To read how Canada developed, how Canada struggled for freedom, and oddly enough when I used to read that, I used to find many parallels to what was happening in India ten years ago or thereabouts. It is quite extraordinary how many problems seemed to be identical to what happened in India. And we tried to understand them, tried to profit by them.

I met on some occasions in India, eminent Canadians who came there, High Commissioners and others, but last year I had the privilege of meeting your Prime Minister, Mr St. Laurent, your Secretary of State, Mr Pearson, and also that grand old gentleman, Mr Mackenzie King, and I found to my great joy that there was a very great deal in common in our way of thinking, in our way of approach to many problems. And indeed when we met at the Conference of the Dominion Prime Ministers, as far as I can remember, the Canadian representatives and the Indian representatives, more or less, expressed the same viewpoint on most subjects that came up, which is very gratifying to me. Later, there was another meeting of Dominion Prime Ministers last April, when the principal issue was about the position of India in the Commonwealth.²

Now, as you know, the Constituent Assembly that has been meeting for some time in India to draw up a new Constitution, had decided that India should be a Republic. At the same time we had no desire to part company with the Commonwealth. Now that raised a very novel issue and probably if others had to deal with it they would have found a way out of that impasse. Fortunately the Commonwealth has a tradition of adapting itself to changing conditions. It is a dynamic thing and indeed that tradition and that dynamism is partly at least due to the very important part which Canada has played in the development of the Commonwealth. And that is why Canada's and our viewpoints coincided so often. And in these talks that we had in April last in London, we again found that the

2. From 21 to 27 April 1949. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 10, pp. 170-179.

representatives of Canada completely appreciated our position as did indeed largely the others too and we found a way out of that apparent deadlock which surprised many people. Yet curiously enough there was not too much argument amongst ourselves who were present in London. Why was that so? Well, chiefly because all of us present, that is the representatives of all the Dominions present there, approached the question in an exceedingly friendly manner and with a determination to find a solution. It was not a meeting of people trying to find fault with each other or in the lawyer-like way just raising points for argument and quibbling about this or that. But the people who met there wanted to do something and they found a way to do it. It is rather a remarkable thing.

To mention another aspect of this question which is about the change that has happened in regard to the relations of India and the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth. You know that for a large number of years, for generations in fact, there has been a struggle for freedom going on in India. For about thirty years that took a very special form, an intensive form, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. And it was a pretty hard struggle involving repeated conflicts, a great deal of suffering for the Indian people, self-invited no doubt, but suffering nevertheless. Normally speaking, when there is a national struggle against some kind of foreign domination, it leads to very great bitterness. I cannot say that there was no bitterness in India, but I do think that that bitterness was infinitely less than normally takes place in such struggles. That was chiefly because of our leader Mahatma Gandhi, who evolved a new technique and who laid the greatest stress all the time on our differentiating and separating between two factors. He said you are fighting against a system, call it what you like, call it foreign domination, imperialism or colonialism. You are not fighting against individuals or against any country or people as such. Therefore you should not show bitterness against any individual or group or a country. Well, it is not easy for the average person to differentiate in this way. Nevertheless, it was remarkable how that teaching of Mahatma Gandhi did percolate to our people. And what is still more remarkable is that it could easily be seen that at the very height of our struggle, when strong passions were aroused, any Englishman could go through a crowd or a mob in India without any harm being caused to him. It did show that to some extent our people had understood what Mahatma Gandhi told them. Now the manner, the final manner of the settlement of the Indian problem, politically, vis-a-vis the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth also has been significant. It was a peaceful settlement, a settlement by agreement, a settlement which led, because of the way it was brought about, to ending such bitterness as might have existed. That too I think has hardly got a parallel in history, if there is a parallel to such a case at all, with the result that today we people in India, generally speaking, I cannot speak of everybody, have no marked bitterness at all and we have survived that past conflict fairly rapidly.

Now I have been thinking about this lately, and thinking about it in the context of the world today. We find many conflicts in the world, sometimes leading to

great wars, but whenever we try to solve the conflict or try to end the war by victory, we achieve the victory, and a very substantial victory, but somehow the solution of the problem eludes us and we get back to the same old rut, the same old vicious circle. Now it may be that, if caused by somebody else's fault we can blame somebody else or some other country. But it seems rather a helpless way of looking at something, to be pushed about hither and thither by somebody else. It doesn't seem to me a quite satisfactory way of absolving ourselves from responsibility. Now look at it this way. When we fight a war, we seek a certain objective. We fight the war in order to gain that objective. In order to gain that objective we think that a certain obstruction, that is the enemy, has to be removed. And then we gain our objective. But what normally happens is this. That we rather forget the objective and think that something leading us to the objective is the main issue, that is to say victory in war, the military victory. Well, we achieve that. But in the process of that we have concentrated ourselves so much on the military victory that we have rather forgotten the other objectives for which the military victory was necessary, with the result that we get the victory but not the objective which we really aimed at.

So, life has become so complicated, specially for those who are politicians or statesmen, call them what you like, and they are so entangled in day to day problems and difficulties that they are always apt to lose sight of the long-distance objective and so they find some difficulty in solving the problem of the moment, or if they solve it, half a dozen new problems arise out of it. And so this goes on. It does seem very odd that after two tremendous wars, which were fought apparently to bring peace to the world and a cessation from this kind of warfare, in fact that was repeated often enough, and yet the world seems to be in as bad a tangle as ever and he must be a very great optimist if any one thinks that by just one more war we will solve the world's problems. So we go on. Normally speaking, the practical person, who calls himself the practical man, seems to me to be about the most impractical that you can find. Because in his attempt to be practical, he just doesn't see at all as to what tomorrow may bring. He concentrates on today. Now I should imagine that that should at least lead us to enquire into as to what is wrong about our thinking, about our approach, and try to take a longer perspective. It may be that our objective may be right, but our methods of reaching it are wrong. Allowing these developments to take place one after the other, to oppress us, distress us, and overwhelm us again and again, seems an exceedingly helpless attitude for the world to adopt. Now I am merely putting forward some vague ideas before you, because inevitably each one of us who is at all sensitive or who at all has to face some responsibility, has to consider these questions, and I am distressed about this matter, about this repeated approach, and repeated series of activities that the world seems to take, regardless of past experience, and not profiting by that experience. What one should do is another matter. And I am not competent or clever enough to suggest it. But I think it is necessary for us to realize that a

mere repetition of what one has done previously generally speaking in a slightly different context does not seem to help the world at all. That is the experience of the last thirty years, leave out the rest. That is one thing I would like you to consider.

Now a somewhat different thing, but really connected with it because all problems in the world today are really intimately connected, and you cannot separate them. Now in this series of problems which emerge, one fact which I think is of the greatest importance in the present-day world is what is taking place in Asia. Much of what is taking place we do not like, though much we may like, but it is not a question of liking or disliking. It is a question of understanding the great forces at play, mass movements, millions of people feeling this way or that way. Unless we understand them we cannot cope with them and again I find often enough, not always of course, a certain superficial way of looking at things, as if some quack remedy will remove some basic disease. Or you put some paste to cover a pimple and you think that the body would be cured by it. Well, something big is happening in Asia, something very big. That is the first thing to realize. I am not merely referring to China. That is big enough of course, but all over Asia. It is basically a release from the tied-up and arrested feelings of a long time, if you take the history of Asia into consideration.

Generally speaking, if you look at Asia, you will find that Asia in the past, rather in the long past, played a very important role in history. Europe, if you go far back enough was only an outgrowth of Asia. Then Europe rose. Asia continued in a fairly advanced stage. Then came a period when Asia became rather static and Europe became more and more dynamic, small as it was, and ultimately what was inevitable, Europe with its dynamism began to spread out and Asia being static and unprogressive simply collapsed before the dynamism of Europe, becoming a kind of colonial territory tagged on to Europe. Europe meanwhile advanced on the lines of the Industrial Revolution, and Asia became a large agricultural colony of Europe. In a sense, though not completely, as a consequence, certain inner forces that might have functioned in Asia, or to take a specific instance, in India, were not allowed to function as they might have functioned. When new forces arrived, they adjusted themselves, they found a new equilibrium. But that could not happen in Asia especially, or in India, because external authority prevented the functioning of progressive forces. The world was changing and new problems were arising, new forces were arising. They could not function. Therefore, a certain anachronism came into evidence. And when that power, external power, was removed, as the British power was removed from India, or elsewhere as other foreign colonial powers were being removed from Asia, the result was that you suddenly came up against an accumulation of problems which had not solved themselves because of a certain external authority preventing the normal adjustment of internal forces. And suddenly all these new forces broke out, unsolved problems broke out, and they demanded immediate solution. And not one problem at a time. So there are all these problems,

all wanting immediate solution. There is a political aspect of it, there is the agrarian aspect, there is the economic aspect, there are so many aspects. Of course, in Asia today probably the basic problem is the agrarian problem, the land problem. Europe began dealing with it from the time of the French Revolution. In America you never had that problem, because you started with a clean slate more or less. But Europe had it very much, though the feudal age gradually passed away followed by the French Revolution, and other revolutions. In Eastern Europe the feudal age continued for a much longer time, and there again it was arrested. So in Asia the fundamental problem has been the agrarian problem. But at the same time other problems have also come up. If I put it in another way, the basic problem was first nationalism versus colonialism and imperialism, and allied to that the economic problems and the agrarian problems.

Now you have this bundle of problems bursting out in Asia. How to solve them is a complicated matter. But, first, one must understand them. The very first thing of course is that this process of the elimination of any foreign control has to be removed, apart from any idealistic reasons, for purely opportunistic reasons, because it is apparent that it is no longer possible for any part of Asia to be held by military means by foreign authority for long. Maybe superior military power may hold it for a few months, for a year, two years, or three years. But it just cannot be done for any length of time. New forces have arisen. The conscience of the world does not permit it.

The other economic forces that have arisen demand a solution from authorities, and want to liberate a large mass of human beings, and those masses are going to go anywhere where they find promise of relief. They are not going to reason. They want relief from their sufferings. If they cannot get it by these means they will get it by some other means. So that is the background.

Now you have apart from economic and other aspects, even psychological problems. How to get into the minds of those large masses of people? It is not a question of your dealing even with some top-ranking politician or statesman of this country or that. You may deal with them, because you have to deal with them. That is a different matter. But no top-ranking statesman or anybody else can deliver the goods, unless he can carry the masses with him. It comes to that. So all qualities of leadership have to be brought into play in those terms and not superficially and casually in any other manner.

I feel that this new awakening, new resurgence, the renaissance in Asia, is probably the most important event of this present generation. Not today, perhaps, but, tomorrow, I am not a prophet to say what is going to happen, but Asia will play a very important part. Now this fact I think is being appreciated more and more by statesmen all over the world—in Europe, in America, and elsewhere. It is being appreciated. They are becoming more and more aware of it, though I still think the appreciation is not as complete as it should be. Presumably it will soon become complete. Because it is so patent, it is not good enough to appreciate it

superficially but try to understand the roots of the things that are happening there. Perhaps I am in a better position to understand that, not merely in the intellectual way, not merely in the logical way, but in the real way. That is somewhat in an emotional way, that is to get back into the minds and hearts of those people who are involved; one can thus understand them better. And that is ultimately the only way to understand people, whether it is an individual or whether it is a group or a mass. I am in a better position certainly insofar as India is concerned, because for the last thirty years or more I have been in very intimate touch, an emotional touch with the Indian masses. They have affected me and I have affected them. I understand them and to some extent at least perhaps they understand me. Also I think, though here I am not quite so clear, that I can understand what is happening in Burma or round about India or in other countries there, that is, in the countries which have had to some extent the same background as we have had. I can speak to them to some extent again in their language, not using the word language in the linguistic sense, but in the other sense, that is I can speak in terms that they can understand me.

Also we in India have a certain advantage and that is nobody in Asia is afraid of us or thinks that we have designs upon them. We indeed have no designs on anybody. And so the approach can be made in a disinterested way and can be generally understood as such. The approach may be successful or may not be successful. But, at any rate, it has that great advantage that it is accepted as a friendly, disinterested approach.

Now owing to past history, quite apart from present motives, which may be very good, there is a great deal of suspicion in the mind of the average Asian, whatever country it may be, of countries who have played a dominating role in Asia. Whenever something happens, immediately the mind harks back to some old happening, as if all that is going to be repeated. Therefore, any approach of the average European country is looked upon with some degree of suspicion. The suspicion is lessening, and intelligent people see that there is no room for suspicion. But the fact is that the average person cannot get rid of the thoughts that he has inherited and what he has himself felt in the past. So India happens to be today in that favourable position of being to some extent able to understand a little more of what is happening round about her and being accepted as a friendly adviser and as a disinterested country. That is of a very great advantage for India. Of course, that does not mean that everybody is going to accept India's advice and act up to it. Because every nation after all functions according to its own line of thinking, right or wrong. But it does mean something.

India, because she has come into the field of foreign affairs recently, in the last two years and a half, is a newcomer there. It has no past entanglements. It has a clear field, a relatively clean slate to write upon. That is helpful. I am mentioning this to you because frankly people put to me this question repeatedly. Are you on this side or that side? Are you going to join this bloc or that bloc?

It seems to me, if I may say so, with all respect, a very crude question, a very naive question. I can discuss my objectives with anybody in India, as to what India aims at in the world in relation to other countries. My line is fairly clear about that. But when it comes to my trying to achieve those objectives, I am going to lose the very special place I have got in which I can influence my people, the other people, by becoming a pale replica of somebody else and by being tagged on to some other group and benefiting nobody anywhere i.e., neither that group nor anybody else, because by doing so I lose the power of action and the power of influencing others that I may have today. It seems to me a simple proposition. But, it is not understood though it is patent to me, yet it is not understood simply because people do not normally think deeply enough about these matters and take a rather superficial and an immediate view. It is a view full of the present apprehension in people's minds that there is something, some danger that is looming. Well, if there is danger, we have to be prepared for it. Obviously, nobody can take a risk. But the responsible statesman is not much of a statesman if he is continually thinking in terms of the present danger and not of tomorrow's danger and how to avert it.

We are newcomers in world politics and we do not presume to imagine that we can affect them tremendously this way or that way. Maybe after a few years our influence may be greater. Today we do not count in the military sense before these mighty countries with mighty armies. We do not count in a financial sense. How do we count then? We count, however, in some ways. We count very much in a potential sense, because we have got very great resources, natural resources, human resources, and the ability to use those resources, given the time. We have just to bring them together. Above all we want to have that type of development where stress is not to develop the military strength or anything, but generally to develop our country. So far as we are concerned we should rather not be entangled in any world problem and be left in peace to work out our own destiny for say ten, fifteen or twenty years. Let us bring our country up, to get rid of our poverty, industrialize the country, improve health, develop education and all the other things that we lack. But we just cannot help it. We are dragged in simply because potentially we are big. Therefore we have to play some part even today whether we like it or not. People talk about the leadership of India in Asia. Well, we want no leadership. I want to assure you that we just want to be left in peace. But we do wish to cooperate, because we have realized that no country can isolate itself and live at peace in this world today. Therefore, perforce we have to cooperate with others and help insofar as we can in avoidance of war and in the development of cooperation among nations.

Now, as I said, we may not make very much difference in world affairs today. Nevertheless the kind of difference we can make is only in functioning as ourselves and not as somebody else. As soon as we function as somebody else, our influence goes, our individuality goes, our importance goes. Maybe we make some

infinitesimal difference to somebody else. Not much. Therefore, it becomes essential for us to keep ourselves free as we are today of entanglements and ties, except such ties as come from friendly cooperation. We are in the Commonwealth and you are also in the Commonwealth. You are completely free in your domestic sphere, in your external sphere, to function just as you like. There is nothing to prevent you but nevertheless you cooperate with the Commonwealth, you cooperate with the United States of America, you cooperate with other countries in a very close and intimate way. That cooperation does not limit your freedom of action at any time and that is as it should be. We are in the Commonwealth. We cooperate with the Commonwealth. We consult each other whenever crisis arises. No doubt we will go on consulting each other, having joint conferences and the like. That helps in understanding each other and cooperating, but the moment you try to bring that to the level of ties, something that binds you and us, well, I think, the real virtue behind that cooperation lessens. The moment you introduce rigidity, the conception of the Commonwealth becomes something different from what it has been. What gave strength to the conception of the Commonwealth was its lack of rigidity and its dynamic character, which could adapt itself to changing circumstances, and where the ties were of a common interest and some other ties which are not rigid ties. So, that is the background of our approach that I should like you to appreciate. I am glad to say that I have found in the past that Canadian statesmen do appreciate that.

Now look at India. I was speaking to you about India's individuality. Now India is, well, a very big country. It is a country with the strongest possible individuality. Her history goes back, so far as records show, of various times, roughly five thousand five hundred years, and then we find that it was in many ways an advanced civilization five thousand and five hundred years ago with large cities. Now it has been a continuing thing since then. It is a long period. It has had many ups and downs. It has had numerous incursions from outside. It has had the most intimate contacts with all the countries of the ancient world, old Greece, old Rome and old Egypt. Old India was the contemporary of all these and sometimes preceded them. Old Greece, old Rome, old Egypt gradually ceased to be, not as countries, but as that particular type of civilization and culture. They continued of course to inspire succeeding generations. But there were breaks. Now, in India, there has been no break during all this period. There have been ups and downs, big ups and downs, but a continuity is maintained because of its strong individuality. And India has influenced all those tremendously. All the surrounding countries in Asia, India influenced a good deal. Greece too in some ways, and in turn influenced by her.

Gradually all these external influences naturally moulded India to some extent. But fundamentally the individuality of India remained. It was powerful enough to withstand external shock and pressure, though it adapted itself to it. It had the capacity to adapt itself. Races, a large number of races, have come to India, from Central Asia, the West, and the East. They made a difference to India. They were

absorbed in India. It had a tremendous absorbent capacity, culturally, racially, and otherwise. But always because of its strong roots and its own individuality she survived all these changes. India had been split up politically innumerable times, but even when it was a dozen or more States, nevertheless it continued its traditional unity. Whether a person lives in the south of India and another in the north or the west or the east, they all had that unity between them, the cultural unity. They came, they met together. They had learned the same language, and they discussed the same ideas, the same thoughts, the same philosophies, so that a country with that strong individuality at any time cannot be tagged on to any other and become just a camp follower, at any time, much more so, rather much less so, when it has recently attained its freedom and has a sense of release. And because it had that sense of release, it views with suspicion anything that appears to it again to limit that freedom.

I am trying to interpret to you not my mind but the mass mind in India. I wish you could understand it. I understand it well and I may be a very popular figure in India. But, however popular I may be, sometimes my view may prevail, but ultimately in any democratic country, there are limits beyond which an individual leader cannot go if he has to carry on with his people. He can influence them; a man like Gandhi can influence them tremendously. He did influence them. But again there are limits. Therefore, I want you to understand not my mind, but the mass mind in India, and it is important that we do so. Because the mass mind in India will make a difference.

Here in this tremendous background of Indian history and culture, there is a great deal in it which is very good and which inspires us, and there is a great deal in it which is bad and which we want to get rid of. Such mixed influences are bound to be there as always happens in the case of the people with a long cultural and historical background. But we have to deal with these moving, vibrant masses of human beings in India or elsewhere, and you just cannot think of them as if somebody in a chancellery is going to dispose them of in this way or that way. They are volcanic material which may be used for good or bad.

Today, India, as I said, is very old in experience and yet at the same time it is today a very young country and there is a certain vitality about her, a dynamism about her, and a passionate desire to go ahead. Go ahead, how? Not in the sense of just showing off to other countries or dominating other countries. We had been too long under somebody else's rule to favour any kind of foreign rule over any country. Nevertheless, India is a dynamic country and she is passionately eager to make progress herself. In a sense we have solved the political problem and achieved freedom. But that after all is a way to something else. It is necessary by itself, but it is ultimately a way, the way towards the economic betterment of the people. Throughout our movement, the important turn that Gandhi gave to it was; he said that *Swaraj*, as he put it, that is independence, has no meaning unless

you raise the masses of India, unless you raise the under-privileged in India, unless they have the necessities of life, food, clothing, shelter, education, etc.

Now that is the problem before us. It is a very big problem when you consider the large numbers involved and although in a sense we have the resources, the difficulty comes in tackling the problem fairly soon, because the economic and other problems rather cannot easily wait for solution. These have to be solved quickly when the whole thing is in a ferment. Not in India so much. I am talking about Asia. So one has to go pretty fast.

The problem before us is that here we have the material and the other resources to solve that problem, but how to do it as quickly as possible so as to make India more and more a factor, a strong factor for peace in the world, in Asia, and generally to be able to clear a path in the right direction in our own world affairs. I would not go into the details as to how, as you know obviously many other things are essential for that. But in doing that again we have always to take into consideration, shall I say, the background, the psychology and the genius of the Indian people. You cannot superimpose something on a people. That would not last long unless they grow up to it.

In the past many years we have faced a good number of problems, pretty difficult problems, and we have survived. In the last two years, or rather two and a half years, i.e., ever since India became free, India had to face, at the very moment of freedom, a Partition to which we agreed, but we agreed under pressure and stress of circumstances. But that Partition nevertheless brought in its train a tremendous suffering and agony. You may have heard of that, upheavals in North India and terrible things happening, even our own people behaved very badly. It was a horror. Well we faced that too and gradually we began to overcome those difficulties and on the whole brought things back to normal.

So although we have big problems ahead, we have a feeling that we have solved bigger problems in the past and so we are not afraid of the big problems ahead. We realize that it means hard work, not for a few of us, but for everyone in India. And so if you go and run an election, a democratic election, instead of making promises of a paradise to come, one thing we promise is hard work for everybody, not a very inspiring promise perhaps. But that is a fact and people are prepared to do that hard work, provided they can see the objective in view, provided they know they are going somewhere where they want to go to. Otherwise, of course, nobody is prepared for hard work. Why should he? Unless he knows what it is meant for.

So we face the future with a measure of confidence in ourselves and in our country and I have no doubt that we will make good. I cannot, however, get the pace, the speed, as that depends on so many factors. That is why I am so frightfully anxious that world conditions should not develop so as to prevent this process of recovery and development of my country as well as of other countries. And that is why, and that applies to every country because if a war comes, it will mean a

tremendous disaster and it really does not make much difference what the result of the war shall be, if the whole level of humanity sinks, of human civilization sinks in that conflict. It therefore becomes even more important than before to seek peaceful remedies of our problems and the world problems. In order to do so, we should try to get out of the ruts of our own thinking about the way we approach the question, because the approach should not be to repeat past mistakes.

So, while talking about India's past, India's history, it might perhaps interest you to know about this wheel you see in our flag and which I was greatly interested in. I am very much gratified to see that the management of this hotel has introduced into our menu today, the sweet which is called *Parfait Dharma Chakra*, which evidently is a reference to the wheel in our flag, and I should also like to express my great appreciation of the gesture which the management of the hotel made in bringing this elephant which is the symbol in India of strength, wisdom and sobriety; it does not easily get excited, and it moves perhaps not quite so fast as other animals, but nevertheless it moves very solidly and with dignity.

So this wheel which we took for our new flag is a very ancient symbol in India. It represents the words that you see in your menu cards *Dharm Chakra*, meaning a wheel of righteousness; *Chakra* is a wheel and *Dharma* is righteousness. It is an old symbol, used a little over two thousand years ago. I do not know how much older it is, but it was used particularly by the Emperor Asoka, that Buddhist monarch, who is rather unique in history. The fact is that in the full tide of conquest, of victory and conquest, suddenly repentance came upon him, that in winning battles he had killed a lot of people and he stopped the war just in the middle of victory. He stopped it and said that there will be no more wars fought and the State will devote its energies for the spread of righteousness. It was rather an extraordinary example. So that was his symbol. And he adopted *Dharma Chakra* as a symbol. And all over India today you find big pillars which Asoka built a little over two thousand years ago with inscriptions calling upon people to be righteous and tolerant. We took that symbol, as representing not only the old mind of India, but a continuing culture of India which it represents. And we wanted to keep that in view in this new dynamic India of ours today, because we do wish to combine as far as possible the old cultural outlook, the philosophic outlook, the peaceful outlook, with the dynamism of today. How far we shall succeed, I do not know. Anyhow that is our attempt. And in doing so we realize that it is no longer the function of any single country to do anything really big by itself. We realize also that no country progresses except by its own efforts. You cannot be propped up by others. If we want to go ahead, we have to stand on our own feet and work hard. Of course, others can help us and we can help them. But ultimately it is our own hard work that will count. But in the world today, undoubtedly for larger reasons, it becomes more and more essential for all the countries in the world to cooperate and build bonds of understanding.

And I have found during my tour of the United States, where I have been given the most generous of welcomes which have moved me greatly, that far more friends have asked me as to what my impressions are. Well there are many impressions. I knew a great deal about the United States even before I went there. I know a little more. But what I know more is the human aspect which I cannot get from books and which has impressed me greatly as I came to Canada. I went to Ottawa and I felt soon after arriving there very much at home, and I discussed matters with eminent people there, in all frankness and friendliness, rather more quickly than I might have done elsewhere where it might have taken me longer to do so, and feeling at home we discussed quite frankly. I think to some extent all over the world, but specially in Canada and the United States, there is such a tremendous desire among the people for cooperation, for friendly relations, for an avoidance of conflict and war, that I just do not see why this tremendous desire expressed by people of all ranks, eminent people, common people, ordinary folks, why it should not have produced results in cooperation.

Anyhow I do hope, and I do believe, that my coming for these few weeks to this great continent will lead to a closer understanding. I have made here many friends, but that is an individual matter, but far closer understanding, awareness of each other, between our respective people, I am quite confident will grow particularly between the people of Canada and India.

Now to come back to Vancouver and as to what I thought of it. Well, Vancouver geographically looks out on its west, which has been called the East and geography affects people very much and geography affects history very much and development of countries very much, and climate affects them too. India has been powerfully affected by her geography and in future also it will be affected by it, although geography becomes to some extent less important now because of the development of communications and transport system when each country is every other country's neighbour, you might say. No country is a distant country any more. Nevertheless geography counts. In Asia, India has got a certain strategic, pivotal position, whether you think in terms of trade and commerce, whether you think in terms of war or peace, or strategy, whatever it is, it is there. Whatever happens in the Middle East affects India, whatever happens in the Far East affects India, whatever happens in Central Asia affects India, and whatever happens in South-East Asia affects India. You may consider different regions of Asia separately. South-East Asia is different, separate from the Middle East, from the Arab and other countries in the Middle East. It is far removed. These regions might function separately. But neither can South-East Asia function without its reaction in India nor can the Middle East function without its reaction in India as due to India's pivotal position, all the surrounding countries somehow affect it and she affects them. Therefore, inevitably we are drawn far more today towards the affairs concerning Asia.

But as I said it is not merely Asia. We are all drawn into this vortex of world affairs. And I think that if we face these problems well, face them without this

terrible apprehension that seems to oppress all of us, and with a perspective of tomorrow and the day after, and with a realization of these new forces that are working, and try to influence them in the right way, in the human way, in the psychological way, apart from other ways, the political or economic, I think we shall go a long way towards facing those problems and solving them.

I am very grateful to you, to this very eminent assembly here, for honouring me by coming here today at the invitation of Your Worship and to your extreme patience in listening to my ramblings. Thank you.

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IN NORTH AMERICA

IV. On the Way Back

1. The Case on Kashmir¹

India will not allow herself to be bullied by anybody in the world into an inequitable settlement or abject surrender on the Kashmir issue. India is in Kashmir as a protector at the invitation of the lawful Government of the State and her popular leader. But what do armies of Pakistan do there? I ask you for a straight answer to that question.

I find the two propositions that Pakistan has a right to be in Kashmir and that it is a case of balancing the rights of Pakistan against that of India preposterous. British journalists should give up their illusions and understand once for all that India will be in Kashmir as long as the Kashmiris want her.

I would emphatically deny that the two-nation theory is applicable to Kashmir, as Partition of India had been based on a territorial basis and not on communal lines. Only a democratic verdict and not force can settle the issue. I would not object to mediation if ever it comes in the right manner and at the right time. Whether the problem of the future of Kashmir takes a long or a short time to settle, one method of settling it should be ruled out completely i.e., the method of armed force. I hope that this question would come up before the Security Council at the beginning of next month. Right now, it is very difficult for me to say how the problem can be finally settled.

Kashmir has aroused tremendous passion in India and outside. But we are clear in our minds that there shall be no armed force. Frankly, I have the strongest and the most passionate feeling about Kashmir and I will not put up with any bullying by Pakistan or any other country in the world.

Pakistan has committed in Kashmir the most brutal aggression in the whole world, even when we take into account what happened in Poland.² People outside India proceeded on the assumption that as eighty per cent of Kashmir's population is Muslim, it should for that reason accede to Pakistan. This is a completely false impression. It is ultimately the people of Kashmir who will have to decide regardless of Pakistan. Pakistan has no standing but that of an aggressor who will be beaten back and thrown aside, and whatever the position of India in Kashmir under international law, what position have the armies of Pakistan? I want to know that.

1. Press Conference, London, 12 November 1949. From *The Hindustan Times*, 13 November and the *National Herald*, 14 November 1949.
2. Following a pact between the Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union in 1939, Poland was overrun by Germany on 1 September 1939.

Kashmir acceded to India and India became responsible for Kashmir when the Pakistan army went in. This last fact has been denied before the Security Council and denied everywhere. I have never heard a more flagrant, a more outrageous lie. India will not put up with this, no matter what the consequences are.

Regarding the letters which have appeared in English newspapers, I want to be clear about the true situation with regard to India and Pakistan. That situation is that while one is a robber and an invader, the other is a friend who has gone in as a friend of the people.

We shall not permit Pakistan to adopt its usual tactics of creating religious feuds, as they have done elsewhere. Everyday you find writings and preachings in the Pakistan press and by Pakistanis that it is a *jehad*, a holy war. You should understand that it is no such thing. Over the last twelve years, even before the Partition, the vast majority of the Muslim population under Shaikh Abdullah and the National Conference were fighting the Maharaja for democratic government. Muslim Leaguers who believe in the two-nation theory tried to create religious feuds there, but never succeeded. What you now have ranged against Pakistan in Kashmir is nationalist Muslims, fighting on an ideological basis, who had always been fighting for freedom against other Muslims.

It is generally assumed that because India accepted Partition of the country, she accepted the two-nation theory and therefore it followed that Kashmir with Muslim population forming the majority automatically belonged to Pakistan. India does not accept the two nation-theory otherwise there are thirty-five million Muslims in India who can be held to be the citizens of Pakistan.

The conflict in Kashmir is not between Hindus and Muslims but between people who want freedom based on Kashmiri nationalism with all population pulling together, and believers in the two-nation theory; that nationality went by religion and should be based on that more or less. Practically every single individual who had fought for independence for Kashmir is on India's side. Those who had not fought are always talking about Kashmir being liberated from the Hindus.

Question: Do you think by resorting to war the Kashmir question can be solved?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Of all the ways of solving the Kashmir problem, war is ruled out. India continues to suggest that there should be mediation and that this mediation should be under the auspices of the United Nations, partly because we want to increase the prestige of the United Nations.

Q: Is communism a growing threat in India? Are you satisfied that the Communists are not making headway?

JN: I believe that the two provinces, Bengal and Madras, have declared the Communist Party illegal because of certain activities in those particular provinces.

As a whole, the Party has not been declared illegal by the Government of India. The whole question is viewed not from the point of view of communism but from the point of view of certain violent activities in certain areas. In the wider sense, I do not think it is a growing threat at all; in the local sense, it is very troublesome. Ideology does not come into it at all.

Q: Do you think that the communist victory in China would lead to the growth of communism in India?

JN: I will be quite frank with you. I think the Communist Party in India is the stupidest party there has ever been anywhere. It has done more damage to communist ideals than any opponent of communism because it has set itself out to fight every natural nationalist urge of the Indian people. It had set the whole of the nationalist movement against it. It has adopted methods which are completely violent and are in the nature of rebellion or petty rebellion because it has not the strength for a big one. It has functioned in such a way as to irritate exceedingly all types of opinion in India except their own. My own information is that even within the Communist Party people have disagreed with its policy and have expressed disapproval.

Q: Why are several thousand people, including trade union leaders, in gaol in India without having been brought to trial?

JN: It is perfectly true that men are in prison for activities concerned with violent open rebellion, but the number has been grossly exaggerated. It probably runs to two or three thousand. I say this with a full sense of responsibility that no Government in the world, unless it surrenders its governmental functions, could have acted with such generosity as the Indian Government has towards rebels against the State.

When the change-over from the British rule took place there was an enormous upheaval in northern India. It involved, I am ashamed to say, inhuman killings in Pakistan and on the Indian side. Twelve million people were on the move. In this background, the big change from British rule, of over a hundred and fifty years, released all kinds of forces, reactionary as well as progressive. Every advantage was taken of this situation by reactionaries, whether it was the landed aristocracy or the old Indian states. No Government can afford to allow forces to spread disorder or indulge in acts of sabotage and violence at such a time. Action had to be taken against individual Communists.

When the Indian Federation of Railwaymen which is a big federation of railwaymen, talked in terms of a strike but decided not to have it, some Communists in the Federation refused to obey. Some Communist-controlled unions then issued instructions for sabotage, for the blowing up of railway installations and stations.

We have these documents in our possession. Will any Government look on and see these acts and do nothing at such a time? The good of India was not considered by those who were causing the trouble. It would have been very easy for the Communist Party to have dissociated itself from this, but it had not done so. Some of the leading people in the organization took great care not to be connected outwardly with various acts. But they organized them and remained underground.

The practice that was followed in regard to those who were caught and interned, was that a bench of judges of the High Court was shown all the papers concerning each man. If they decided there was not sufficient evidence against a prisoner, he was released. It was not a judicial trial, but it was consideration by the highest judicial authority in the land.

Q: Do you not think it unfair for individual Commonwealth countries to make barter deals with countries outside, with the consequent loss of dollars to the sterling area dollar pool? What do you have to say about this reported Indian barter deal for American wheat?

JN: India has made no deal. It is true that we are anxious to get wheat as cheaply as possible, if possible free, or on a deferred payment system so that we can pay four or five years later.

Q: What form would the dollar import cuts take, you think?

JN: India does not wish to spend dollars at all except when it is absolutely necessary. We have stopped import of all luxury goods. Some dollar goods, however, are essential for us, specially certain types of machinery. If we cannot get them in the sterling area, we shall have to get them in the dollar area.

Q: How soon would the Indian Government recognize the Communist Chinese Government?

JN: The Indian Government would take steps in accordance with reality of the situation. These steps would naturally be taken after consultation with other countries of the Commonwealth. We will, of course, decide for ourselves. Consultation does not mean we are tied up with them. We have asked our Ambassador in Nanking to come back and report to us.

Q: When would India recognize Israel?

JN: I should think it is pretty obvious that Israel has got to be recognized sometime.

Q: Would you visit Arab countries on your way back home?

JN: I cannot visit the Arab countries on my way back to India since I would already be late for the opening of the Constituent Assembly.

Q: How soon do you think a peace treaty would be signed with Japan?

JN: The sooner it comes the better.³

Q: What safeguards do you think should one take in future organization?

JN: It would have dangerous consequences to try to bottle up a country like Japan but naturally some attempt should be made to prevent Japan's strength going into military channels.

Q: Is it true that a memorandum has been sent by the Indian Government to the British Government on Indo-China?

JN: It is completely wrong. No *démarche* has been made. There has been some routine exchange of information. Generally speaking, our view is that in Indo-China the situation cannot be dealt with by military means which arouses all the resentment of national elements once they feel a foreign power is using military force to compel them.

Q: Will India recognize the Bao Dai Government if the French decide to withdraw their forces?

JN: India will recognize any Government which has the support of the people of Indo-China.

Q: What would be the attitude of India if the new Republic of Indonesia lay any claim to British Borneo?

JN: So far as I know no Indonesian leader has made any such claim at any time.

Q: What is your opinion about the situation in Malaya?⁴

3. India refused to sign the treaty signed on 8 September 1951 by 49 nations including Japan then under Allied administration on the ground that it did not restore the honour and equality to Japan among the comity of free nations.

4. With the ending of the War, Britain set up a Union of Malayan States in September 1945 and then formed the Federation of Malaya in February 1948. However, the Communists resorted to direct action against the State by organising strikes and disturbances in the tea estates and mines leading to proclamation of an emergency by the Federal Government. The Malayan struggle for freedom was also weakened by a lack of trust and cooperation between the Chinese Malaysians, who comprised half of the population, and the native Malaysians. Malaya could become independent only on 31 August 1957.

JN: The whole problem in Malaya is extraordinarily confused. Normally one would say that they should have had their independence. But Malaysians will have to wait for their independence, since they themselves are in a minority in their own country and the active elements are non-Malaysians, who are following violent methods to achieve their ends. There has been a great deal of murder and killing on behalf of groups who are ranged against the Government. The Government cannot naturally permit these killings to go on. Therefore, it is difficult to devise how the change-over would take place, but the sooner it takes place, the better it would be for peace, and the Government must try to bring about a balance on Malaya's national problems.

Q: What is the attitude of India towards Tibet?

JN: India has always recognized the suzerainty of the Chinese Government over Tibet but Tibet is considered as an autonomous unit and India's dealings with Tibet are on that basis. We have recently become involved in this question of Tibet only because the route from Tibet to China lies through India.

2. Interview at Cairo¹

Question: What are the possible results of the Kashmir problem?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The three possible results of the Kashmir problem are war, permanent deadlock or mediation under U.N. auspices.

Q: Do you think mediation can solve the problem?

JN: The mediator should be given full powers.

Q: Did you ask for financial help from the United States?

JN: I had not gone to U.S.A. to ask for financial help, though I did ask for technical assistance.

1. 14 November 1949. From *The Hindustan Times*, 15 November 1949.

Q: What is your opinion on an Arab Collective Security Pact?²

JN: Such small regional groupings cannot effectively contribute towards real security.

Q: What is your view on the foundation of Islamistan?

JN: I do not appreciate groupings based on religion. Cultural bonds can be fostered but politics based on religion can be of no help at all.

2. Pact of the League of Arab States was drafted in 1945, and in 1950 its then seven members gave it a military aspect to call it the Arab Collective Security Pact.

3. Goodwill for India Abroad¹

So you expect me to hold a press conference without any notice.

The welcome given to me—official and popular—wherever I went symbolized the world's respect for new India.

The people of Britain, the U.S.A., and Canada know that India stands for peace and cooperation and the uplift of under-privileged people everywhere. They associated me with new India and Mahatma Gandhi.

I have had a wonderful tour and wherever I have gone I have been besieged and inundated with courtesy and with a great deal of affection. Everywhere they thought of Mahatma Gandhi and his teachings—peace and cooperation among the peoples of the world. They associated new India with that great leader and his teachings—and me, however humble I may be, with that great man.

Everywhere I found an enormous fund of goodwill for our people. I also found an enormous desire for peace in the world and cooperation among the peoples of the world.

So I return with optimism for the future, not only for our country, but for the whole world.

I have taken this rather long holiday and I must now settle down to work. Throughout my stay abroad, I gathered fresh experiences and naturally I liked to be away from India. At the same time, I have been away for a long time and so I am glad to be back.

1. Press Conference at Government House, Bombay, 14 November 1949. From *The Hindustan Times*, 15 November 1949.

I naturally feel happy at the welcome I got there but I rejoice at coming back and on landing on Indian soil, first in Bombay, a beautiful city in many ways, so full of affection, and at seeing friendly and familiar faces looking at me.

I have had a wonderful welcome. It would be wrong to say that I am a hero. The welcome accorded to me was not personal but it was rather a welcome and respect for new India. I think it was a welcome, specially so far as the large masses of people are concerned, for something that they had in their minds and hearts that India represented. Perhaps it was because they had heard something of India and of Mahatma Gandhi.

4. The Yardstick of Greatness¹

Brothers and Sisters,

I do not know if this large meeting has been organized because I have just returned after completing my tour abroad or because today happens to be my birthday, or a little of both, because when a man is nearing his sixtieth year, it is better to keep quiet about birthdays rather than to make a big noise about it. As you know, generally people, at least in government service, retire at the age of sixty and get a pension. Recently there was a long debate in the Constituent Assembly to fix the retirement age of a High Court Judge and as far as I can remember, it was decided that it is better not to expect too much from a man beyond the age of sixty. So in such circumstances to remind a man that he is sixty years old is not being very kind to him. It is true that when people and my birth certificate tell me that I am sixty, I have to believe them. But sometimes I get a doubt whether it is true or not because in the last so many years, our attention was wholly absorbed in other matters and the passage of years went unnoticed. So it comes as a big surprise that so much of one's life is already in the past.

Well, this is not the first time when you have celebrated my birthday with great love and affection but on innumerable occasions you have welcomed me in Bombay and elsewhere too with open arms. You have always forgiven me for my mistakes. So today's meeting is nothing special—you have always been doing it. Please do not attach too much importance to my being sixty years old either. The question

1. Address at a public meeting, Bombay, 14 November 1949. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L. (Original in Hindi).

is now much strength a man has to do his work. Let him continue to work as long as he has the strength to do so and when his strength fails, it is better that he leaves the scene as quickly as possible. Ultimately what is the yardstick by which you can measure how well a man has utilized his life in working or how happy he has been. People go to watch shows for entertainment or try to be happy in other ways. But ultimately the only fundamental and real happiness lies in putting one's entire strength into some big task and try to succeed in it. It may involve physical hardships but the heart finds happiness. No one can measure these things in terms of success. But the mere fact of being engaged in a great task is in itself a sign of success in a man and he finds happiness in it and also grows in stature. In the last thirty or thirty-five years, we have been engaged in great tasks under a great leader and we grew somewhat in his shadow. People thought that we were great though in reality the greatness was conferred on us by him and to some extent by the great task we were engaged in—the task of achieving India's independence. You must remember that you become the sort of human being that your work makes you. Gautam Buddha has said that thoughts mould a human being, which is perfectly true. If you are engaged in petty tasks, you will remain a small man and if you take up great tasks, you too will grow in stature. Your country will grow and personally you too will grow.

So all of us, not only a handful who became famous, but hundreds and thousands of people in the country, grew in stature, hearing the Mahatma's message, and by taking up great tasks. Our work uplifted us and so did our leader, and we gained a stature in the eyes of the world. So, what do we learn from this? Firstly, that we should all take up some big tasks. There are plenty of them waiting to be done. What can be a bigger task than the uplift of hundreds and thousands of people in India? We have achieved political independence but that merely shows us the way. The real task before us is to raise the people of our country, to remove their difficulties and their burdens. Perhaps there can never be a time when there is no grief or anguish in the world. Perhaps that can never be achieved—I do not know. But I do know one thing and that is that there are many kinds of sorrows and difficulties which you and I can help remove. There are many wants which we can try to fulfil.

Thus the one great task before us is the economic upliftment of the people because freedom is not complete till this task is done. This is the biggest task which is before us within the country. Secondly we are, as you know, caught up in a strange world of tensions, quarrels and of tilting imbalances. We do not wish to get involved in other peoples's quarrels. We want to be left alone to do our work. Why should we get involved in others' quarrels when we have enough problems of our own? But whether we like it or not, we cannot isolate ourselves from the world—from Asia or the world. Our responsibilities have increased with the coming of independence. A slave country can remain isolated because its voice cannot be heard independently, but the moment freedom comes, it brings responsibilities with it.

So we have acquired many great responsibilities. We are surrounded by our neighbouring countries. In a sense all the countries of the world are our neighbours. When you can reach Europe in one day and the United States in two, all countries become our neighbours. In the olden days, it used to take weeks to travel a short distance. Now you can go to the other end of the world in a couple of days and go all around the world in three to four days and get back. Perhaps in a year or two, travelling will be even faster when these jet planes start flying. Then you will be able to reach London in seven to eight hours. I do not know how much the world will gain by all this but the way the world has shrunk, the question as to who is our neighbour and who is not, does not arise. The whole world is our neighbour and we have to maintain relations with them. Now, please remember, that neighbourly relations can be of two types—one of friendship and the other of constant quarrels and bitterness. There can be no half-way house relationship with neighbours. Therefore these questions are coming to the fore in a big way in the world as to whom to befriend, and who to cooperate with. The peoples of the world are rather perturbed over this issue.

As I mentioned earlier, if you are here today to greet me on my birthday, I would like to thank you. Your good wishes are with me but how can I hope to repay what I have received from the people of India in the last sixty years? I doubt if any human being has ever received so much love and affection. You are in the habit of venerating great men but often I wonder what I can do in return for the enormous love that I have received from the people of India, for there can be nothing more valuable than love. My life is passing and I wonder how best to serve the people a little in return for their love. Well, anyhow, whatever remains of my life will be spent in such tasks as I feel will do good to the country. Not that I do them because someone tells me to but it becomes a kind of a disease almost, so that it is very difficult to get away from it. But why call it a disease? As I had mentioned to you earlier, how does a man achieve real happiness in life? Mere worldly pleasures can only bring superficial happiness. Real happiness can come only by doing big tasks. I have become addicted to it and so I find it difficult to get away from it. Of course, if you ask me to go, I will naturally have to go. But so long as I have the strength, I will continue to do my work and that goes not only for me but for many of you too because the tasks before us are numerous.

Now I would like to talk to you about a couple of things. I have returned today after a tour of almost five weeks to various foreign countries. So it would not be proper for me to make a long statement about my tour immediately on my return. But I would like to tell you a few things. You may have read detailed accounts of my tour in the newspapers. So you may know where I had gone, the kind of welcome I received, what I and the others said. I went to the United States for the first time. Not that I was unfamiliar with events in the United States because, after all, I have read a great deal, as you too must have read. I have met many Americans and know their history very well—how they fought their war of

independence against the British and won under the leadership of their great men. So it was not a new country to me in that sense. Even so, there is a great difference between reading about a country and to seeing it and meeting its people. As you know, the United States plays a great role in the world of today. It has influenced a great deal of the politics of the world and to an even greater extent its economic condition. So it is proper that we should understand this great country well. Therefore I went there and toured extensively for about three to four weeks. It is a large country. Our country, India, is also very large but the United States is two and a half times—almost three times larger than us. So you can imagine what a large country it is. Canada is just above it on the map and quite large too. These countries are widely spread out. It is true that our country is much older and our population is much larger. These are newer countries comparatively—a few centuries old.

Well, anyhow, I was given a very warm welcome there by everyone—by the President, at whose invitation I had gone, his Government, and the prominent citizens of all the cities that I visited. But the affection shown to me by the common people, on the few occasions that I got to meet them, impressed me profoundly and touched my heart. Now it is obvious that the welcome was not for me personally, though to a small extent that may have counted. The welcome was really for the newly independent India. I was merely a symbol of that. I would like to mention to you the one thought which was constantly in my mind and that is, how many people in the world are looking towards India with great hopes. Our country is not a great military power. It is true that our Army, Navy and Air Force are excellent. I will tell you in this connection that in a few days, we will be getting ships for our Navy from England and elsewhere. Wherever I went I heard great praise of our young men who are working there and I was very happy to hear that. So, our armed forces are very good, manned by excellent people of whom we can justifiably be proud. But in the world arena, our Army and Navy and Air Force can count for nothing. There are such huge forces, fifty times larger than ours, in the world with fantastic weaponry, which we do not possess. We have perhaps neither the strength nor the desire to possess them. So, if anyone respects us, it cannot be out of fear after all because we are simply not very strong militarily. Similarly, economically too, we are not a wealthy country like the United States or other countries. So our strength does not lie in that. We are deeply stuck in our economic problems. Therefore we can present a strong front neither economically nor militarily. We fall short of the yardsticks by which the world measures nations. Why then is India still regarded with respect in the world? There are two things. One, however weak our country may be among the countries of the world, there is a hidden strength in her and we need time—eight, ten, fifteen years—to bring out the hidden wealth of the country and make progress, build factories and expand our industries; expand our river valley schemes, increase agricultural production and our power resources so that our wealth may increase, the people may be better

off and unemployment may decrease. We have great potential wealth in our land and our people. We have to coalesce the two to get the maximum advantage out of them. The world knows that though we may not have wealth or strength just now, we have the potential and resources to develop both and if not today, certainly in ten to fifteen years, we will do so. This is of course in the future. But I think that there is yet another reason behind the fact that the eyes of the world are upon us and that is, in a world when nations are ranged against one another in hostility and bitterness, prepare for war, and hurl threats, India speaks in a different voice. They remember that her great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, had followed a totally different path from that of other leaders and countries. Do we also speak with a different voice in the world of today? Have we learnt the lesson taught by Mahatma Gandhi or are we going the way of the other countries? This was the question in everyone's mind. If people's attention is drawn towards us, it is firstly because our country is very large and its hidden strength will only gradually emerge. Secondly, what is more important is, are we going to influence the world situation or not? The question which bothers everyone today is whether there is going to be war and that is a very important problem because there is no doubt that if there is another war, it will affect not one or two countries but the whole world will be in ruins. No one knows what the shape of the world will be after another war or how long it would take for us to recover from its after-effects. This is a terrible picture and yet why do people look in that direction and prepare for war? I do not think anyone really wants war, except perhaps a few mad men. Nobody in the world wants a war. But people are afraid of a war and so they look at one another with fear. It is the fear of an attack from others which leads them to make preparations for war. But the danger is that this fear may inadvertently lead to the outbreak of a war and it will be impossible to get out of it.

This is the question which is before the whole world today. I will tell you clearly that in my opinion, the grave fear of war which gripped the world a year or two ago, is gradually decreasing and some progress has been made towards peace. I hope we will continue to make progress in that direction. It does not mean that all the problems of the world are going to be solved immediately. Great problems and grave dangers beset the present world. But the tilt towards war is gradually becoming less and there is hope that the process will continue. This is something to be happy about. But unless everyone works hard at it, there is constant fear that the trouble-makers will have their way. So the world asks whether India will speak up in this crisis with the voice of Mahatma Gandhi which had led to our freedom.

Now it is obvious that only the Mahatma could speak in that tone. Lesser mortals cannot hope to do so. How can I hope to take his place. But after all I have learned a great deal in the thirty odd years that I spent with him and his words have influenced my heart and mind. So the more I think about it the more I feel that the path shown by him is the only correct one for our country specially and for the world too—not perhaps in small matters because the world changes and we

can decide according to the changing times. But the fundamental matters which make men and countries do not change even in this changing world. It is my belief that in those matters the path shown by the Mahatma is the only beneficial way for our country and the world. I spoke about all this in my own way wherever I went and I saw that it had an impact on the people. It was not my telling them that had an effect. The fact is that there is a longing, a desire, in their hearts to seek a way out of the present-day difficulties. So, at a time like this, any little thing which throws some light, is immediately welcomed.

Well, anyhow, whatever impact India wants to have over others, depends on herself. You or I or anybody who goes abroad can talk about these things. But what we do within the country can influence others. What little influence we have today in the world is because we followed the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi to achieve independence for our country. So we can influence the world to some extent. When independence came, it brought Partition which threw some of the provinces into a great turmoil. Terrible things happened, both on our side and Pakistan's during that carnage. You may try to lay the blame on others for starting it. But we must remember that both sides indulged in atrocities. We cannot absolve ourselves of guilt. Our people were responsible for doing terrible things and we have to accept the blame. They made us look small in the eyes of the world. We were filled with a sense of shame and could not hold our heads high in the world.

Well, anyhow we faced up to whatever happened. Mahatma Gandhi's presence gave us great moral support in the first few months. I do not know what we would have done without him then. We faced the disaster that had befallen us and brought the situation under control. It was not merely a matter of using the army or the police to restore peace and order. We had to deal with the bitterness and grief and anguish in the minds and hearts of the people. Somehow we succeeded in controlling the situation and respect for us went up in the world because it was felt that we do not panic in a crisis but are capable of dealing with it calmly. So we began to be respected. Now how far our voice is heard depends on our actions, whether we get bogged down by trivialities and our own petty internal squabbles or we look at the broader picture of India and work towards her development.

In my tour abroad, I said repeatedly that India does not want to live in isolation from the world, nor can she do so. But we do not wish to align ourselves with any power bloc. The Gandhi era has influenced policies tremendously and will have a great role in the shaping of our foreign policy in the future. We may sometimes fail to follow the path shown by him due to our own weaknesses. But we cannot dissociate ourselves from it. If we align ourselves with some countries and begin to think of war, our own views will become obscure and we cannot have any influence. Our standing as an independent country gets undermined and we cannot follow the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi. In such circumstances, we will find that we are neither here nor there, nor can we do very much to serve the world. This made sense to people there.

I would like to tell you that our standing in the world today and the respect in which we are held is really because people regard us as the heirs to Mahatma Gandhi's thought and work, even if we are weak and unworthy. How far we can adhere to those standards depends on us very much. I often see that when the problems arise, then the manner in which they are projected is totally divorced from the great principles taught by Mahatma Gandhi. Also, how can I blame others when I begin to have doubts about my own colleagues in the Congress as to how far they follow his teachings? I wonder how faithfully I am following them myself.

I want that you and I should together tackle the political and economic problems facing us by hard work. It is useless to think that they can be solved by legislation from above. There must be laws, of course, and strict ones, but ultimately problems can be solved by hard work alone. Wherever you go, whether it is the United States or the Soviet Union or elsewhere, you will find that a country can progress only by the hard labour of the people, not by mere legislation. So, we will have to work very hard if we do not wish to become weak. There are some people in our country—as I mentioned to you in the beginning, there have been riots in Calcutta—who feel, I am amazed to see, that they can help in the country's progress by fighting and throwing bombs. This is such a foolish way of thinking. If you feel that a policy is not right, then discuss the matter, argue about it, by all means. But I cannot understand how anything can be solved by fighting and it is obvious that any Government is bound to suppress it; otherwise, the others in the country can also not function. But we do not want to treat our people like some other Governments in the world do, i.e. maintaining law and order by force, using the army and the police. If the Central Government or the State Governments were to rely on force, how long do you think they will last? It is totally alien to our basic principles. We have to work, of course, with the cooperation of the people, but basically a Government must govern with love especially in the world of today when fear and hatred of one another is so widespread that the entire atmosphere has been poisoned by them.

I will give you an example. In the last two and a half years since the Partition when India was broken up into two, there has been a great deal of fighting with Pakistan over the Kashmir issue. Anyhow, we will stand firmly by our principles. It would be wrong to show any weakness. But we must never follow the path of violence out of fear and bitterness. We want to have friendly relations with everyone, whether it is Pakistan or any other neighbouring country. We want to have just and loving relationships with all of them. But when we talk of justice and love, it does not mean that we must bow down if someone does something wrong to us. We cannot follow a policy of appeasement with evil. Nor, on the other hand, should we stiffly hold ourselves aloof and be belligerent and ready to fight at the smallest provocation. Our path should lie between these two extremes—between appeasement and belligerence. Our policy should be fearless self-confidence, cooperation with everyone and under no circumstances to bow before wrong-doing.

If we follow such a policy, we will be respected and we can make an effective contribution to world affairs. One thing has impressed the world very much. We fought with the British Government for years—our struggle for independence dates back to 1857, with the outbreak in Meerut on the 10th of May that year followed by different forms of struggles and the establishment of the Congress seventy years ago. The Congress grew gradually and ultimately under Mahatma Gandhi became a country-wide organization and we began to learn new lessons. The greatest lesson that Mahatma Gandhi taught was to be fearless. We were unarmed, we had no money and yet we challenged a mighty empire successfully. But it is obvious that however much Mahatma Gandhi might have tried to teach us not to harbour bitterness and hatred, they are bound to be there to some extent for the country which rules over us. Now what surprises the world today is not that we fought the British but now that we have got independence, our fight with them is also over and there are no traces of bitterness. We work together in mutual cooperation and yet go our different ways. The old quarrel is completely forgotten which is a very great thing because if you read history, you will see that victory or defeat in war has invariably bred desire for retaliation in people. As you know, we have had two World Wars within twenty to twenty-five years of each other. In the intervening period, people were full of hatred, bitterness and desire for revenge. Similarly many countries became independent but people there continued to harbour rancour in their hearts. India also became independent but the influence of Mahatma Gandhi's teachings was so great that we have hardly any bitterness in our hearts for the British Government or for their country. We are ready to cooperate with them. Yes, we are agreed that we will go our own ways but we are always ready to have consultations. So this had a very powerful impact on the world that after such a long struggle, we can still maintain friendly relations and the feeling grew as to why efforts could not be made to solve other similar problems and quarrels in the world in this way so that it does not bear the seeds of another quarrel. Nowadays the situation is that when one quarrel is settled, it leads to other quarrels and problems. So we decided that we would not let such a thing happen here and we have very friendly relations with the British. It is a different matter if some new problem arises later, but the old one has not left any raw wounds. Therefore it is very important not only to do something but much more important is the manner of doing it, as Mahatma Gandhi always stressed. I have laid stress on this and others too have realized that we harbour no hatred or bitterness or rancour in our hearts. They also realize that we have no fear in our hearts of the great world powers. When we have faced a mighty empire fearlessly, why should we be afraid now that we are free? I cannot understand this.

I thank you once again for your love and affection. I would specially like to mention something that has always been in my mind but which has been strengthened by my tour abroad and that is that no problem in the world can be solved by fighting nor can the development and progress of human beings take

place by such methods. These can be achieved only through mutual cooperation and love and I want that our country should be big not only in size but great by her actions. We should set an example to the rest of the world by our ability to solve our problems by peaceful methods, mutual cooperation, and friendship without having recourse to fighting. *Jai Hind.*

13

MISCELLANEOUS

1. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
August 16, 1949

Nan dear,

...It is never worthwhile hurting any person unnecessarily, and more especially anyone in a subordinate official position. This takes away any sense of initiative and a feeling of injustice rankles in the mind.

...Independence day here and in the rest of India was celebrated with considerable popular enthusiasm. The function in Delhi was simple, solemn and very impressive. A gathering estimated at half a million collected at the Red Fort when I unfurled the National Flag...

Yours,
Jawahar

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

2. To Shamnath Mushran¹

New Delhi
August 18, 1949

My dear Shamji,

Thank you for your letter of the 13th August and for your cheque for Rs 500/-.

Yes, there are plenty of doubts and they persist. It is perhaps some consolation to know that these doubts are widespread almost all over the world, except with those people who have found some anchorage in some kind of religious faith, whether it is called religion or not. It is extraordinary how people in Europe and even in the United States are full of doubt and have no certainty about the future. Perhaps all this is rather inevitable in this rapidly changing and very transitional period. Oddly enough, large numbers of people abroad look with certain hope towards India, and yet the poverty of our material is amazing. Perhaps this is due to the gradual fading out of what has been known thus far as our middle class. It is not quite clear what other class will take its place.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

3. To Joan Ramsbotham¹

New Delhi
August 20, 1949

Dear Miss Ramsbotham,²

Thank you for your letter of August 16th, which our High Commissioner³ has forwarded to me.

I was happy to send you my book and, as an author, naturally I like people to read my books! I sometimes feel, however, that it requires a brave person to read through my books, because parts of them are pretty heavy. No doubt you have the necessary courage. As a matter of fact, part of the book, I have sent you, was rather topical, and so is out of date. The world has changed so rapidly since I wrote that book that I feel that what happened four years ago and more seems to belong to some remote age.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Daughter of Lord Soulbury, Governor-General of Sri Lanka, 1949 to 1954.
3. V.V. Giri was India's High Commissioner in Sri Lanka from 1948 to 1950.

4. To Narendra Deva¹

New Delhi
August 21, 1949

My dear Narendra Deva,²

It has come to my notice that your University is starting a course of study in Ayurveda leading to the Degree of Bachelor of Indian Medicine. I am glad you are doing this. But may I point out that the use of the word Indian in this connection is not correct. I know that this has been used in the U.P. Indian Medicine Act of 1939 in connection with Ayurveda and Unani systems. But we have pointed out to the U.P. Government that this is not a correct use of the word. Why should we consider modern medicine as foreign and only ancient medicine as practised in India as Indian? As a matter of fact, the Unani system can hardly be called

1. File No. 7(171)/49-PMS.
2. He was Vice-Chancellor, Lucknow University.

Indian; the very name suggests that it is foreign. I suggest that some other word should be used. If you like, indigenous. But I do not like that much. Why not merely say Ayurveda and Unani?

While I welcome the attempt to modernize Ayurveda and Unani systems, I must say that I am very apprehensive of all our standards going down and the scientific approach also disappearing in our desire to be nationalistic in this respect.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
August 24, 1949

My dear Krishna,

... I am inclined to agree with you about the services playing a far more important part here in the formation of policy etc., than they should. In the final analysis this is due to our own Ministers and not so much to the services, who merely try to carry on their old tradition. Also it is due to a multitude of problems facing us continuously and thus preventing us from paying much attention to numerous details or even important matters. This is a large question with which we shall have to deal with somehow or other.

I am worried more especially about the general trend of our economic policy. Those who are in particular charge of it cannot get out of the old ruts of their thinking and are frightened at the prospect of any marked change. Yet, if change does not come on our initiative, it will come without it and in a much worse way. However, I shall not write to you about this now. Perhaps I may do so a little later...

You should know me well enough to know what value I attach to your advice in any matter. You do not have to tell me that that advice is not only far more helpful to me because of your greater understanding but also because it comes from an independent mind which has not lost its resilience in routine activities. I sometimes fear that my own mind is losing such resilience or such as it possesses. I have a great advantage over you and that is an element of recklessness and irresponsibility, not in a bad sense, I hope. So events do not affect me quite so deeply as they might affect you.

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.

The basic fact of India, or one of the basic facts, is the extreme poverty of our human material, especially in the top ranks. That poverty in non-official life has become rather evident and the services have profited by it. It is not the Congress group merely that is rather poor, but the other groups appear to be far poorer. They behave with an irresponsibility which is amazing.

Thus the question is what one can do with this poor material that we have. The quality of some of it is good, but spread out all over India, it is rather lost. This material has had to face problems of tremendous magnitude and has not shown up well. I suppose we do not compare so badly with many other countries which are also pretty poor in this respect. It is no good getting angry with facts as they are. That does not help much. There is a danger of course in accepting them and becoming subservient to them.

In these circumstances your presence somewhere within reach is a great comfort to me. I really have very few persons with whom I can discuss any matter with any confidence. If I ask you to stay on in India House, it is not so much for any personal reasons but for larger public reasons and for reasons apart even from India House. If I chose according to my own inclination, I would like other people to carry on the business here and to be left free to do some other things that I consider very important. Yet, with all modesty, I think that my leaving might well be in the nature of a disaster. No man is indispensable, but people do make a difference at a particular time.

You can rest assured that you will have every help and cooperation from me, and even when apparently you do not get it in some small matter, it has nothing to do with any lack of confidence in your judgement, but to some extraneous cause which perhaps you do not know. That does mean that we have a certain faith in each other and a certain respect for each other's judgement and *bonafides*.

Take this business of Dutt's report.² Frankly, as I have told you, I have not gone into that very carefully yet, because I wanted to know what you and your people there have to say about it and then to look at it with care. There is always a tendency, when a person is overburdened with work, not to take up anything which is not quite ripe for decision. You may be right in saying that the report is not fair to you or to your office. If so, you should go into it thoroughly and more particularly the major points involved in it. In doing so there is a more helpful way and a less helpful way. We have to deal with heavy-moving machines and to ignore the machines is not helpful always. That was my approach to this problem. My own advice in this or any other matter is not to worry too much because worrying does not help anyhow...

There is a tremendous lot to do here at the present moment about cutting down expenditure. Our Finance Ministry is calling upon every department to reduce expenditure by 20 per cent or so. How this is to be done, I do not quite know.

2. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 10, p. 25.

Certainly we should try to reduce our expenditure, but this by itself does not help much and our Finance people as well as others seem to have no other constructive notion. All this however affects our foreign work and appointments.

I shall end this letter rather abruptly here; as I have got to go out now to one of our interminable Constituent Assembly meetings, where there is great excitement over the question of language. Fortunately it is agreed that English will continue as now for another fifteen years. That is long enough and much may happen before that period ends.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

6. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
September 13, 1949

Nan dear,

...These last two or three weeks here are going to be a big trial for me. Almost every single problem that faces India is pressing down upon me, and I just do not know how to deal with them in this short period. However, the days will pass and I shall do what I can and then leave India for a while. It may be in a mess, but it will carry on without me...

Yours,
Jawahar

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

7. To Stafford Cripps¹

New Delhi
September 22, 1949

My dear Stafford,

Thank you for your letter of the 30th August. It is always a pleasure to hear from

1. J.N. Collection.

you. But whether you write or not, we follow from afar your strenuous life and activities. Amrit Kaur had sent me a few days ago a letter which Isobel² had written to her, in which she complained of your inveterate tendency to overwork. She is of course right, and yet carrying on the heavy burden that you do, how is it possible to avoid it?

The last few weeks must have been especially hard for you. They brought big changes and big problems for all of us. This world is getting a difficult place to live in, not because of the hard work but more because of the growth of some kind of crudity and vulgarity. I do not know if I am right.

However the world may treat me, I keep remarkably fit and there is no obvious reason why I should go to your clinic in Zurich for an overhaul. I wish my daughter kept as good health as I do. She has been unwell again and I am not quite sure if she will be able to accompany me to England and America next month.

On my way to America I shall spend just two days in London. If you are there then, I should of course like to meet you, not so much to discuss high matters of State—I am rather tired of these discussions—but to talk of other and more agreeable subjects for a while. On my way back from America I shall spend about four days in London. That will be the second week of November.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

2. Wife of Stafford Cripps.

8. To Padmaja Naidu¹

New Delhi
October 1, 1949

Bebie dear,

Thank you for your letter. I am writing this in some haste so as to give it to Ali Yavar² who is waiting for it.

You know how I love to have your letters and yet I hesitate to answer them. This is not because I am very busy and all that. Of course I am up to my neck in work and this seems to grow and I can seldom develop the mood for leisurely writing. The real reason is a feeling of embarrassment and not knowing what to

1. Padmaja Naidu Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Ali Yavar Jung was the Vice-Chancellor. Osmania University, 1948-50.

write. Your letters are on such a high emotional level that any reply is bound to fall flat.

I am leaving within six days and I could not have chosen a more inappropriate time to leave India. All the problems from Pandora's box beset and surround us and a really responsible person would remain at his post. But then I am not very responsible.

America is rather alarming—But I suppose I shall survive it. Indu is leaving day after tomorrow.

Love

Jawahar

GLOSSARY

Chappal	slippers
Darshan	sight of a person which is believed to be auspicious
Devanagari	script used for Hindi, Sanskrit and some other Indian languages
Hindsa	numerals
Jawan	soldier
Jayanti	birth anniversary
Jehad	holy war waged by Muslims
Mantra	sacred verse
Patwari	revenue official at village level
Sanskriti	culture
Sher-e-Kashmir	Lion of Kashmir
Swaraj	self-government
Yuvaraj	heir apparent

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During the twelve weeks from 16 August to 14 November 1949 covered in this volume, Jawaharlal Nehru, while aware of the dark patches on both the Indian and the world scenes, was confident that it was the bright spots of light which counted. As part of the effort to add to the light, he was keen that the country should take seriously to planning. Food was still a basic problem, and the Prime Minister wished India to become self-sufficient in this respect and stop the import of foodgrains. Indeed, he wanted the target date to be brought forward by a year. The continuous wave of migrations from East Bengal not only caused concern in itself; it worried Nehru that it promoted the growth of narrow-mindedness and a mood of seeking retaliation. For the strengthening of national unity was still a prime consideration; and it was with this in mind that Nehru secured the retention of English as a link language until at least 1965.

On Kashmir, pressure by Britain and the United States to accept the vague proposal for arbitration put forward by the United Nations Commission was resisted. But the attitude of these powers on Kashmir did not cloud the almost emotional welcome given by the American peoples when Nehru visited the United States and Canada. This was in a sense the high watermark of Nehru's activities during these weeks.

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